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THE  
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI  
VOLUME LIII

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

M. W. HASLAM

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## PREFACE

All the texts in this volume are literary; and all the editions, and the indexes, are the work of a single scholar, Dr M. W. Haslam. The content ranges widely. 3695, Anacreon, and 3698, *Argonautica*, represent early poetry. 3712–19 contribute to the textual tradition of Euripides; 3720 illustrates the textual fluidity of popular literature. There are new musical texts (3704–5); new fragments of ancient technical writing, on myth (3702), music (3706), metre (3707), and rhetoric (3708); and large pieces of ancient commentary, on the *Odyssey* (3710) and on matters of Lesbos (3711), of unusual richness and interest. Most of the material presents exceptional difficulties; we are deeply indebted to Dr Haslam for applying his exceptional skills to its publication.

At the Oxford University Press, we are obliged to two learned Readers for comment and correction; and to the Managers and Compositors for setting so thorny a volume with such speed and accuracy.

P. J. PARSONS  
J. R. REA  
*General Editors*  
*Graeco-Roman Memoirs*

*August, 1985*





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## LIST OF PLATES

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## NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION

IN general the publication follows the conventions of the Leiden System, see *CE* 7 (1932) 262–9. Square brackets [ ] indicate a lacuna, round brackets ( ) the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets < > a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets ≡ a deletion, the signs `´ an insertion above the line. Dots under letters indicate that the reading is doubtful. In texts for which a double transcription is offered, letters marked as illegible or doubtful in the diplomatic transcript may appear without dots in the reconstruction if the context justifies. Dots inside square brackets represent the estimated number of letters lost or deleted, dots outside square brackets mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. (These dots are printed slightly below the line, to distinguish them from punctuation.)

Corrections and annotations which appear to be in a different hand from that of the original scribe are printed in small type.

The use of arrows to indicate the direction of the fibres in relation to the writing is confined to codices and opisthograph texts. The term ‘front’ refers to the side of the papyrus presumed to have been used first; in the case of rolls this is normally the side on which the writing runs parallel to the fibres.

Heavy arabic numerals refer to *Oxyrhynchus papyri* printed in this and preceding volumes, ordinary numerals to lines, small roman numerals to columns.



# I. NEW LITERARY AND SUBLITERARY TEXTS

## 3695. ANACREON

Plate I

Inv. no. unrecorded

Fr. 12 4 × 13 cm

First century

Fragments assembled by Mr Lobel and assigned by him to Anacreon on the strength of the coincidence of fr. 3. 3-4 with the quotation *PMG* 443. While he noted that that quotation is vocalized as if Doric and that he discerned no specifically Ionic features in the new pieces to confirm its given ascription to Anacreon, I do not think the attribution of 3695 is in much question, even if only two manuscripts of this poet have turned up before: XXII 2321, 2322.

The text is written, with a rather thick pen, in a good-sized round and upright hand, assigned to the first century by Mr Lobel, who adduced the hands of P. Berol. 6926 (Schubart, *Pap. Gr. Berol.* 18, Roberts, *GLH* 1 1a) and P. Ryl. III 484 as similar. To me it has a somewhat more recent look than those, though I should not quarrel with a first-century dating; the presumably later script of XVIII 2159 etc. (Turner, *GMAW* 24) may also be compared. Back blank.

The text was articulated by means of paragraphus (fr. 1, 2), coronis (fr. 1, 2, 21), and asteriscus (internal; fr. 6?, 19). There are a few high stops for punctuation, some of which seem to have been added subsequently. Lection signs of most sorts are employed; commonest are circumflex and acute accents (one grave, fr. 12. 5), also occurring are brevia and longa. Most of these look as if they were made by the same pen as the text; one or two are thinner. Elision is signalled *oncc*. A few textual alterations have been made, entered with a thinner pen and in a less watery ink but perhaps not by a different hand. A note or heading has been added in cursive in fr. 12.

A variety of metres is represented. There can be no assurance that the fragments come all from a single book, but there is no indication to the contrary.

I am greatly privileged to have had Mr Lobel's work on this text put at my disposal. He had made a full transcription and a few characteristically sparing notes, and had drafted an introduction that I have freely plundered above. On the few occasions on which I have ventured to diverge significantly from his transcript, I have recorded the fact.



	fr. 1	fr. 2	fr. 3	fr. 4
	]	]	]	]
	πo. [	κ [	]. . . . [	]ενν [
	] τoξ [	] . ψ [	]ατάν [	]εcχ [
	] νυ. [	.	]δαφν. [	]ωρ. [
	] κὸμ [	.	] . ταλίξ [	.
5	] $\frac{-}{\circ}$ αει [	.	5 ]ρακν [	.
	] $\frac{\circ}{\circ}$ . [	.	] . δεχ [	.
	.	.	]ματων [	.
	fr. 5	fr. 6	]νειδε [	fr. 7
	.	.	]νδρὺε [	.
	] . . [	] . [	] . η	] . . . [
	] . cω [	] . ωκ. [	10 ]φᾶνδ [	] . αρρ. . . [
	] . ονγε [	] $\frac{\circ}{\circ}$	] . εσελ [	]ν·επει. [
	] ωι [	]λέωcωδ [	] . . [	] . . [
5	] . ` [	5 ]ατωcουμ [	.	.
	.	] . ω'μ. [	.	.
	.	.	.	.

fr. 1. 1 .[, slightly sinuous upright      3 .[, slightly sinuous upright      4 μ[, only left-hand upright close to edge      6 .[, upper left corner of γ, μ, or π

fr. 2. 1 To left of κ, an element of a coronis, see fr. 1      2 ] ., upper part of γ, ε, or c      Above ν[, a speck on the edge (an accent?)

fr. 3. 1 Letter-foot traces      3 .[, specks on the edge      4 ] ., upright on the edge      6 ] ., oblique at lower right suggesting α or (EL) δ      7 ω, the first half closed at the top (hardly a circumflex; a running correction from ο?)      10 interlin. ] ., median dot      ]φ, or ρ (so EL), but size of loop looks better suited to φ      11 ] ., ν suggested

fr. 4. 3 ] ., ε or θ

fr. 5. 1 Speck on the line, then α suggested      2 ] ., lower right-hand arc of a circle? (ο?)      3 ] ., extremities of κ?      5 What I have taken for a high stop was taken by EL as the thickened top of an upright, but it appears to be free-standing. It is followed by a sloping stroke standing free above and to right

fr. 6. 1 Dot on the line, followed by lower end of stroke curving down from left, λ or κ suggested, but perhaps two letters      2 ] ., trace of apparent circlet as of ρ, with faint suggestions of descender      ] ., foot and tip of upright      3 The three discrete traces which I have taken as the right-hand edge of an asteriscus (see fr. 19) EL preferred to interpret as respectively the tail of ]ρ in 2, the cross-stroke of a letter in 3, and an apostrophe after λ in 4; see comm.      6 ] ., apparent letter-top horizontal as of π or τ      ] ., top of a suggested

fr. 7. A possible placement for this fragment suggested by fibre-matching might be to the left of fr. 12. 10-13, but I cannot be at all certain.      1 Three specks presumably of letter-feet      2 ] ., right-hand end of cross-stroke touching α, probably γ or τ      ] ., foot of upright hooked to right, followed by lower left-hand arc, e.g. εc      3 ] ., upper left arc as of εθoc      4 Apex as of αδλ, top of stroke descending to right as of αδλ

fr. 8	fr. 9	fr. 10	fr. 11
]λ€[	], οσκυ[	]. μνυπ[	]. ρω. [
]. . [	]. . . [	. . .	]νη [
. . .	. . .	. . .	]έυξ[
. . .	. . .	. . .	] [

fr. 8. 2 ], perhaps right-hand side of α [ , € or θ

fr. 9. 1 ],, on the line, flat end of a stroke from left      2 First, flat letter-top, second, top of possible upright, ι suggested by spacing, third, γ suggested

fr. 10 ],, thickened top of upright, e.g. μ

fr. 11. Traces of a line above 1 would probably be visible if written.      1 ],, a speck level with letter-tops and a dot vertically below just off the line, possibly π (EL) but more probably €?      ], left-hand end of apparent letter-top horizontal, τ?

fr. 1. Apparently the end of a poem set out in four-line stanzas, the lines either iambic (or iambochoriambic) or diverse. Four-line stanzas again in 2322 fr. 1 (PMG 347 fr. 1, 71-2 Gent.). A paragraphus will have stood below l. 6 in attendance on the coronis, cf. fr. 2.

2 τοξ-. βέλος fr. 12. 19.

3 νύν [δ€? (Lobel) as at PMG 347. 3, 373. 2, 388. 10, 391, 417. 5 (71, 93, 83, 100, 78 Gent., + [65. 2]).

4 κύμ[(α) could conceivably cohere with the imagery of fr. 12. 6-8, but I find no fibre correspondence.

fr. 3. 2 Mention of Tantalus (cf. τα]νταλίξ[€ι, -€αι below) is a possibility strengthened by the presence of the accent. If so, there may be relevance in the testimony that Anacreon 'uses the proverb' Ταντάλου τάλαντα in bk. 3 (PMG 355, 34 Gent.). This is lent a certain colour by the comic line τὰ Ταντάλου τάλαντα τανταλίξεται, though the application of the verb by Anacreon in the present passage was evidently different.

3 f. PMG 443 (76 Gent.), quoted by Schol. S. Ant. 134 as evidence that τανταλωθείς means διασειθείς: transmitted is μελαμφύλω δαφνῶι χλωρῶι (ex-ηι) τ' ελαίαι τανταλίξει. The identification was made by Mr Lobel, who commented: 'If the attribution to Anacreon is not mistaken, there must be written in l. 4 χλωρῶι τ' ελαίαι τα]νταλίξ[€ι, and if this was preceded by a similar verse, in l. 3 - μελαμφύλλωι -]δάφνηι[, whatever one may think of the metre.' τε δάφνηι? The specks of the letter following δαφν suggest rather α than η, but η does not seem quite excluded. Metrically comparable, I take it, would be the 'hypercatalectic iambic trimeter' labelled *anacreontium* by Serv. GL iv 458. 25 K. (PMG 499(d), test. de metr. xxii Gent.; hardly to be analysed as *zīa*, *lith*, as Gentili, since the fifth syllable of the example is long); cf. also the transmitted colometry of 2321 fr. 1 (PMG 346 fr. 1, 60 Gent.). Is τανταλίξει (i.e. τανταλίξεται?) applied to someone wavering between the bay and the olive, viewed in opposition as in Callim. *Iamb* 4?

9 δρύε[€?

fr. 6. 3 The recognition of an asteriscus (as in fr. 19) is, I think, reasonably assured despite Lobel's different interpretation. The right-hand side of the upper circlet is intact and hardly to be associated with the tail of ρ, the medial horizontal lends itself to no ready identification as a letter, and what I take to be the right-hand side of the lower circlet is anomalously high for an apostrophe (contrast fr. 12. 25). For the asteriscus' placement within the line, rather than in the left margin (as e.g. XXVI 2441 fr. 1 ii 15, fr. 3, or the London Bacchylides, B. 6 *fm.*, 8 *fm.*), cf. XV 1792 fr. 47, XXVI 1792 (s. 2440, p. 15) 8 45. It is unclear whether it is employed independently or in conjunction with a marginal coronis, but I should guess the former. If reliance can be put on Heph. π. cημ. 3 (p. 74. 8-14 Consbruch) the next poem will have been in a different metre.

4 An opening apostrophe, e.g. (οὐ) φι]λέω €' ε̄ δ[-, Δ[-? Otherwise e.g. βασι]λέω€, τε]λέω€.

	fr. 12		fr. 13		fr. 14
	. . . . .		. . . . .		. . . . .
	] , τουερωτ , [		] , εχ[		] ε , [
	] , ιδετω̄ιςω̄ικ , [		] κλ , [		] επ , [
	] λοποσδεντε[		] κε[		] αρ[
	] ατακώμᾱσᾱν[	5	] πα[		] φ[
	] , εκα·κοιδω̄χα[		] , [		. . . . .
5	] λονεμε̄υ[ , ] , ᾱ̄ν[		] θϚ[		. . . . .
	] , εριον·συ[		. . . . .		. . . . .
	] εἰσαλάβρω[		fr. 15		fr. 16
	] , κρ , οιδε̄Ϛ[		. . . . .		. . . . .
	] νελαφρωσ[ . . ] α[		] μ , [		] νπ , [
10	] , εκαιτερπνων , [		] ω , [		] , · [
	] , πεποιθωσ , [		] , . . . [		. . . . .
	] , ἐσᾱς , ρωτα , αιδ[		. . . . .		. . . . .
	^ ] αστῶ , . πιβ[				
	] , οσγαρφρεγα[		fr. 17		
15	] , ηρω̄σοτ[		. . . . .		. . . . .
	] μα , [		] , ε , [		. . . . .
	] χοσ[		] ερεν[		. . . . .
	] λῑω , εδε̄Ϛ[		] μειδι[		. . . . .
	] τοσβελοσῶ[		] , . . . 'αλ[		. . . . .
20	] , . ενασῆ[		5 ] νιν[		. . . . .
	] , νδ[ , ] , ἐ , ερ[		] διερω[		. . . . .
	] εἰτε̄ιτ , δ[ ] i , [		. . . . .		. . . . .
	] ἱρονπ[ . ] οσ , [		. . . . .		. . . . .
	] μεγασδοπ , [		. . . . .		. . . . .
25	] , η'δ'ει . . . [		. . . . .		. . . . .
	] , ε̄υσιε[		. . . . .		. . . . .
	] , δᾱσμ[		. . . . .		. . . . .
	] , 'ρυσα[		. . . . .		. . . . .
	] , δ , [		. . . . .		. . . . .
	. . . . .		. . . . .		. . . . .

fr. 12. Upper margin, cursive [ ], arc at top edge, off the line,  $\nu$ ? [ ], Traces on edge above and to right of  $\tau$ : superior  $\sigma$ , i.e.  $\sigma(c)$ ? 1 [ ], suggestion of right-hand edge of circle as of  $\sigma$  or  $\omega$  [ ], specks on edge off the line 2 Of  $\epsilon$ , base only,  $\sigma$  perhaps not excluded ( $\epsilon$  or  $\sigma$  EL) but the curve appears to terminate and the curvature better suits  $\epsilon$  4 [ ], upright 5 [ ], suggestion of letter-top horizontal coming in to apex of  $\alpha$   $\nu$  [ ],  $\mu$ ,  $\rho$  not excluded 6 [ ], upright close to edge,  $\mu$ ? 8 [ ], foot of upright closely preceded by a speck on the line  $\rho$ ,  $\epsilon$  perhaps not excluded [ ], two specks, upper left and lower right, positions suitable e.g. for  $\nu$  10 [ ], right-hand end of cross-stroke touching  $\epsilon$  below top  $\omega$  (so EL without comment) looks anomalous, represented at left by seeming foot of upright [ ], traces on edge, perhaps of curve ( $\epsilon \theta \sigma \omega$ ) rather than of upright 11 [ ], median speck on edge,  $\epsilon$ ? [ ],  $\epsilon$  suggested 12 [ ], upright close to edge, thickness towards top perhaps suggesting  $\mu$  Before  $\rho$ , base trace,  $\epsilon$  acceptable Between  $\alpha$  and  $\alpha$ , lower part of upright 13 [ ],  $\nu$  suggested 14 [ ], upright  $\phi\rho$  (so EL), of  $\phi$  only the tail, of  $\rho$  only a median dot to left of  $\epsilon$ ; I should have expected to see the tail Of  $\nu$  only part of right-hand hasta 15 [ ], dot just below letter-top level, minimal speck vertically below at foot 16 [ ], lower left-hand side of circle ( $\epsilon$ ?) 18 After  $\omega$  right-hand ends of strokes, on the line; anomalous as  $\delta$ , but I can suggest nothing better Above and to left of supposed circumflex, another trace, perhaps of a letter in line above ( $\beta$ ?) 20 [ ], letter-top specks Of the supposed circumflex, only the left-hand side; it was taken by EL to be the lower left of a letter  $\chi$  following  $\omega$  in 19, but (as EL himself noted) would be anomalous as such 21 [ ], trace off the line suggesting of vowels  $\alpha$  Before  $\epsilon$ ,  $\gamma$  or  $\tau$  suggested After  $\epsilon$  perhaps start of stroke rising to right, and minimal specks above and to right 22 [ ], only the extremities Apparent 'long' rather a grave accent? After  $\tau$ , suggestion of arc at upper right Of  $\delta$ , only base and upper speck [ ], letter-top trace, perhaps  $\tau$  23 [ ], trace of apparent arc on the line 24 [ ], dot at letter-top level 25 [ ], oblique trace suggesting perhaps circle of  $\rho$  After  $\iota$ , which might be part of another letter, tops of 2-4 letters, of which first or second a circle 26 [ ], trace on the line  $\epsilon$  [ ],  $\theta$  possible (so EL; in fact  $\theta$  better?) 27 [ ], specks on edge, perhaps of circle ( $\sigma$ ,  $\epsilon$ ) 28 [ ],  $\nu$  EL, noting it as anomalous; what survives is two specks, upper and median, followed by upper part of apparent upright bending to left at top;  $\epsilon$  seems suitable 29 [ ], median speck followed by upper part of upright,  $\nu$  EL [ ], top of apparent upright

fr. 13. 1 [ ], upper part of upright 2 [ ], left-hand edge of circle apparently inserted mid-line 5 [ ], a dot, perhaps not part of a letter 6 Of  $\nu$  only upper part of left-hand branch, which looks uncommonly steep; ink above not certainly

fr. 14. Slightly darker 1 [ ], foot of apparent upright hooked to right 2 [ ], speck off the line

fr. 15. 1 [ ], tip of a stroke descending to right 2 ] $\omega$ ,  $\sigma$  not excluded 3 Upper part of upright, upper left of circle, dot just above letter-top level

fr. 16. 1 [ ], lower left-hand arc of circle 2 Apparent letter-tops, horizontal followed by higher specks

fr. 17. EL noted: 'surface loose and rubbed; decipherment now very precarious'. I give EL's transcript, which he notes as having been 'made earlier'. 1 [ ],  $\delta$ ? (EL) [ ],  $\nu$ ? (EL) 3  $\mu\epsilon$  no longer to be made out 4  $\lambda$  seems to me to be rather  $\kappa$  5 I cannot recognize  $\nu$ ; the letters before  $\nu$  appear to have been crossed through, and at least one cancellation dot placed

fr. 12. It seems to me that the metre is likely to be (anaclastic) ionic. If we could be sure of trimeters rather than tetrameters, some further restoration could be attempted.

1  $\tau\omega\iota \epsilon\omega\iota$ . Mr Lobel noted that the accompaniment of the possessive adjective by the article seems to be the preferred usage of Anacreon, while the much more frequent practice of the rest of the lyric poets is to dispense with the article.

2  $-\lambda\sigma\pi\omicron\varsigma \delta'$  (apostrophe not written). Gen., e.g.  $\Pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$ , or nom., e.g.  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}\kappa\lambda\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$ ?

3  $\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha} \kappa\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\varsigma$  seems implied by the diacritics. Mr Lobel queried the contribution of the 'long', but it may have been thought desirable to obviate confusion not only with  $\kappa\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$  but with  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\kappa\omega\mu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ , and in any case diacritics are not always applied on totally austere principles; cf. 12.  $\omega$  virtually certain, not  $\omicron$ .

4  $\epsilon\grave{\iota}\nu\epsilon\kappa\alpha. \kappa\omicron\iota \delta' \acute{\omega} \chi\alpha[-$ . Female, e.g.  $\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\epsilon\epsilon\kappa\alpha$ , if the reference of the participle in 7 is the same; but not necessarily so, even if  $\epsilon\upsilon$  is  $\epsilon\upsilon$ . Mr Lobel noted that there is no other instance of  $\kappa\omicron\iota$  in Anacreon (but it is what one would expect for the non-enclitic form).

5 -λον (e.g. μάλλον) ἐμεῦ. The orthography is regular, cf. e.g. *PMG* 418, 421 (74, 79 Gent.).

6 Perhaps χει]μέριον, in view of 7 λάβρω[ε, -ω[ι. In 8 οἶδεῦ[ντα is a possibility (but so is e.g. καλ]λίκομοι δεῦ[τε).

10 τε(?) και τερπνῶν strikes me as both palaeographically (ω rather ιρ?) and metrically (three successive longa) questionable, but I do not know what else to suggest.

12 -έεαε (μέεαε or aor. part., e.g. ἐξέ]μέεαε?) ἔρωτα παιδ[-? Mr Lobel noted that παιδ[ is 'not suggested'. The position and shape of the upright preceding αιδ[ might suggest rather ἔρωτᾶται, but that would be undesirable in metre and form alike (ἠρόμην *PMG* 387, 89 Gent., εἰρωτᾶ Thgn. 519, cf. Adesp. iamb. 7. 5 West), and παιδ[ seems to me acceptable. After αε any diacritics, except on ω, will be lost.

13 ]αετῶν (ἀετῶν, μ]αετῶν?—an α-stem would probably be written uncontracted) ἐπιβ[-, ἐπι β[-. No room for more than two or three letters between the circumflex and ]a.

14 Δ]ιός(e.g.) γὰρ φρένα, -α[ε.

15 δ]εηρώε perhaps suggested, λυ]πηρώε alia not excluded.

19 e.g. "Ερω]τος βέλος, ὦ [παῖ].

21 [ἀ]τέλευ[τος would suit the indications, but I dare say not uniquely.

22 If the ink above the first ι is a sign of cancellation, the remains become less intractable (perhaps -τεῖ dat. adj., e.g. εὐπ]τεῖ, since -εῖ for -έε would be unexpected); but it does not have the appearance of such.

23 ἰρόν π[ρο]σ acceptable.

24 μέγαε δ' ὀ π- (πύ[ργος| e.g.)?

28 (-)]εῖρνα, -α[ν?

fr. 13. 2 If κλ'ε' [ι- is probably implied, κλ(ε)ιτύε vel sim.

fr. 17. 3 *PMG* 380 (91 Gent.) runs χαίρε φίλον φῶε χαρίεντι μειδιῶν προσώπωι, Himerius' addition to which includes the phrase Μουδάων τ' ἄλγη, cf. 'αλ[ in the next line here. But I should doubt there is anything in this.

6 δι' ἔρω[τα the likeliest articulation?

## fr. 18

. . .	]. α. [	10 ]εμέρωε [
	] × [	]εμικρον'οἶαδ[
	]. [ ]. ὑρ. . [	]τατος. [
	ε.	]. ουτετιμαε[
	]μοι[ [	] [
5 ] .	]. απαμπέ[	]. [δ[
	]ωι [	15 ]λλαμ[
	]μαιομαι[	
	]εχων. [	]ολλαδ[
	]. νθυμρσαπ[	]. . [ . . [
		. . .

fr. 18. Darkened and brittle 1 ],, oblique descending to the line, λ? . . [ , foot of upright? 3 ],, median trace, ε? After ρ, top of circle? 4 Above οι perhaps an acute accent overwritten by ει (not εω) 5 ],. (ι; EL), upright touched by median stroke at left, e.g. η or ει 6 ι perhaps struck out 9 ],, a trace above mid-letter (so EL; I am not sure it is ink) π[ damaged; there might be ι between α and the next letter but one (γ, π, τ?) 13 ],, ]μ EL, but it seems to me to be ]ι, perhaps with acute accent 15 Of ]λ only lower part of right-hand stroke 15-17 EL took 15 for the last of the column, and the line below, which is written in a smaller version of the text hand, for a marginal addition. This may be right, but it leaves traces of ink immediately beneath the latter line unaccounted for. The traces in

	fr. 19	fr. 20
	. . . . .	. . . . .
	] . εχ[	] . μφ . [
	] νο . [	. . . . .
3	] . ρά . [	
	] $\frac{\cdot}{\cdot} \frac{\cdot}{\cdot}$ [	
4	] νταρρυ[	
	] . ωρ[	
	] . αλλ[	
	] . ε . [	
	. . . . .	

question, though very meagre, are in a position and of an appearance suitable for letter-tops of a regular l. 17. In that case the smaller writing will be a supralineation, and the regular l. 16 will have terminated short of the extant papyrus; in fact there are a couple of specks beneath 15 ]λ which may belong to the end of the regular l. 16.

fr. 19. Darkened, but less so than fr. 18 1 ], a headless upright, ν? 2 ], upright with foot hooked to right 3 ], ω or ο .[, upright 4 Above and to left of ]ν, traces of apparent supralineation 5 ], upright, and specks at top to left, ν? 6 ], a trace on the line 7 ], γ or τ? ε, ς EL, but vestige of mid-stroke seems discernible .[, upper left corner of μ or ν?

fr. 20. ], upper right of anomalous τ? Of φ only the top, unexplained ink within .[, start of a stroke rising to right, λ?

fr. 21. A small square of papyrus with all but the lower part of a coronis towards the right-hand edge. The coloration is similar to that of fr. 18. I cannot decisively dismiss the idea that the coronis stood in the margin to the left of the asteriscus of fr. 19, but I see no suggestive fibre correspondence.

fr. 18 As Mr Lobel observes, the metre appears to be the same as in *PMG* 432 (44 *Gent.*, *Anacr. fr. iamb. 5 West*), i.e. *3ia|D* (cf. *Archil. 182-7 West*). That is quoted as *ἐν λάμβω*. It is difficult to assess the likelihood that the same poem is represented here; if it is, we have dialogue: in *PMG* 432 a female speaks, here a male (at least if 8 *έχων* agrees with 7 *μαίνομαι*), doubtless Anacreon himself. The context in both is erotic. Cf. also *Anacr. fr. iamb. 7 West (PMG 424, 54 Gent.)*.

5 *ἀπ' ἀμπέ[λων, -ου*, is the obvious supplement; in view of the need for a caesura, perhaps a structure such as τ]ῆς ἀπ' ἀμπέ[λου δρόκου (cf. *PMG* 909. 4, *Pi. O. 7. 2*). Other articulations: το]ς ἀπαμπέ[χουσί μοι, -α παμπέ[νης, παμπέ[πειρα, c.g.

7 *μαίνομαι PMG 428. 2 (46. 2 Gent.)*, in comparable metrical context; *ἐπιμαίνομαι PMG 359. 2 (5. 2 Gent.)*.

8 *τλήμονα θυμὸν έχων Il. 5. 670, λύσαν έχων Il. 9. 305.*

10 *-έ μ' or έμ' έρωσ* probable. Any accent on ]ε will have been lost.

11 *-c μικρόν or εμικρόν? μικρόν* reported in the quotations of *PMG* 373 (93 *Gent.*), and no metrical reason for *εμικρόν* here; but there can be no certainty.

*οἶα δ[ή? οἶά τε PMG 408. 1 (28. 1 Gent.)*.

13 *οὔτε τιμάς[θαι? τιμάς vel sim.* metrically unlikely. If *οὔτε*, a second *οὔτε* at the beginning of 14? But *-ου τε* is not excluded.

15f. It looks as if the smaller writing below may be a rewritten version of l. 15. But if it is in the lower margin the inferior traces cause difficulty, while if it is not, and the traces represent l. 17, it is oddly placed.

fr. 19. On the asteriscus see at fr. 6. 3 above.

## 3696. CHORAL LYRIC

Plates I, V

6 IB.8/G(c)

3.7 × 8.3 cm

Third-fourth century

A scrap of which little can be said beyond that it seems to be of a triadic composition in 'literary Doric', possibly dactylo-epitrite. It is written in a medium-sized, oval, slightly sloping hand which may be assigned to the later third century if not to the early fourth. Both sides of the papyrus are written on, and the presumption is that this was a codex. I see no indication which side preceded which.

A second hand, distinguishable by paler ink, has made corrections (→5, ↓6) and added some of the accents.

	→	.	.	.		↓	.	.	.
		]	.	[			]	.	[
		]	ζ	[			]	ψ	[
		]	ζ	δεξι...ω			]		[
		]	ζ	είπενκαλ.			]	ημα	[
5		]	νυ	[[μ]]φαινε		5	]		[
		]	ω	μαδ'ευειδ			]	εκλέ'οι	[
				]χαιοισμελεω			]	υπολυ[.]	έύκ[
				]ρθρο[]έπειδ			]	βάρι.	[
				]υχανποδα.			]	χερασθ	[
10				]χετοκαλλ		10	]	μακα	[
				]υπο.			]		[
				]ετρο					

→ 1 .[, speck on line 3 Of *ι*, only the foot, then remains suggesting *αιτ*; missing above, so that any diacritics will be lost 4 .[, around upper edge of hole suggestion of arc as of *ε* or *ο*, not *λ* 5 *μ* crossed through and *ν* written above, in very pale ink; and a further intervention has been made above *αι*, possibly a cancelled circumflex 6 Accent by *m*. 2 7 *ω*[, *ο* perhaps not excluded 8 ]', lower right suitable for *α*; accent by *m*. 2 [ ], room for a lost *ι* 9 ], mid-line speck, *ε* suggested, rather low for *τ*, perhaps insufficient room at left for *ψ* [ ], curve consistent with *ς*, *φ* 10 ], an inserted *ι*? Before it, room for one broad or two narrow letters 11 ], right-hand side perhaps of a rather stumpy *χ* [ ], upright with traces to right suggesting *κ*

↓ 7 *ψ*[ in correction 8 .[, outward-curving upright The interlinear space between 9 and 10 is unusually wide, but hardly enough to accommodate another line; it looks as if 9 drifted upwards

→ 3 δεξιαι τω[ is suggested. Conceivably the right hand of Zeus, 2 ζ[.

3/4 The coronis will probably be marking triadic boundary.

4f. Pi. I. 6. 51, strophe-beginning, *εἰπὲν τε φωνήσας ἄτε μάντις ἀνὴρ* "Ἐσσεται κτλ. It seems likely that 5 *νὺν φαῖνε, φαίνεται sim.*, begins a speech. On the relation between speech-beginning and metrical structure see R. Führer, *Formproblem-Untersuchungen zu den Reden in frühgr. Lyrik* (Zetemata 44), 66-76.

6 *εῶμα* δ' εὐειδ[έε? B. 9. 31 φαῖνε (impf.) θαυμαστὸν δέμας, but *εῶμα* would hardly be used in such a context, and all lyric instances of εὐειδήε are applied to females.

7f. If ἄρθρο[ι]c in 8, as looks probable, μελέω[v 'limbs' rather than 'songs' or 'wretched', and ἀκυ]χαιόιc might be considered along with ἄ]χαιόιc, ἀρ]χαιόιc.

8 The dot above *ε* seems to be by the second hand (light ink) and is in just the right position for a cancellation dot, but may be casual.

8f. Is the sense something like ἐπὶ δ[ε] (εὐξάμενος) | εὐχὰν πόδας [ (κούφους νεῖμον)? I owe the suggestion to Mr Parsons. Cf. on 6 above.

10 (-)ῶ]ιχέτο seems indicated.

↓ 6 *Κλειοῖ* corr. to *Κλειοῖ*. For the variation in spelling cf. Pi. *Pae.* 7a. 7 (with Schol. *M.* 2. 17c), *M.* 3. 83; at B. 3. 3 *Κλειοῖ* is written but must scan - . *Κλε(ι)οῖ* B. 3. 3 and 12. 2, each at outset of poem. It is possible that this is the first line of a new poem, and l. 4 the last line of the preceding one (or conceivably a heading, but nothing points in that direction except its isolation).

7 Πολυ[δ]εῦκ[-.

8 βαρ]βαρικ[-.

## 3697. LYRIC

Plate I

73/1(a)

2.4 × 4.7 cm

Second century

## CORRIGENDUM

On p. 8, 3696→3-4, the central elements of the coronis have dropped out of the printed text.

In place of ]  $\overset{\curvearrowright}{\iota}$  δεξι. . . ω[  
]  $\overset{\curvearrowright}{\iota}$  εἰπενκαλ. [

please read ]  $\frac{\overset{\curvearrowright}{\iota}}{\text{---}}$  δεξι. . . ω[  
]  $\overset{\curvearrowright}{\iota}$  εἰπενκαλ. [

]  $\overset{\curvearrowright}{\nu}$  βίω[  
]. ουδοζηρ. [  
]. . . . . [

The space above ] $\overset{\curvearrowright}{\nu}$ βίω[ is slightly greater than the normal interlinear space, so that this may be column top  $\overset{\curvearrowright}{\nu}$  2 ], raised upright as of  $\overset{\curvearrowright}{\nu}$  5 ], oblique at upper right as of  $\overset{\curvearrowright}{\nu}$  6 αι, offsets or washed-out ink to lower left and above; the papyrus was damaged when written on 7 ], two specks suggesting raised upright as of  $\overset{\curvearrowright}{\nu}$  ], a suggested 8 Various letter-top traces

1 ] $\overset{\curvearrowright}{\nu}$ βίω[. Though I suppose βίωc or cognate has far greater probability, the possibility of Talthybius may be worth mentioning (cf. *Hdt.* 7. 134?).





6 *κῶμα δ' εὐειδ[έε]?* B. 9. 31 *φαῖνε* (impf.) *θαυμαστὸν δέμας*, but *κῶμα* would hardly be used in such a context, and all lyric instances of *εὐειδής* are applied to females.

7f. If *ἄρθρο[ι]c* in 8, as looks probable, *μελέω[ν]* 'limbs' rather than 'songs' or 'wretched', and *ἀν[ι]χαιῖοι* might be considered along with *ἄρ[ι]χαιῖοι*, *ἀρ[ι]χαιῖοι*.

8 The dot above *c* seems to be by the second hand (light ink) and is in just the right position for a cancellation dot, but may be casual.

8f. Is the sense something like *ἐπὶ δ[έ] (εὐξάμενος) | εὐχὰν πόδας [ (κούφους νεῖμον)]*? I owe the suggestion to Mr Parsons. Cf. on 6 above.

10 (-)|*ῶ*]ιχετο seems indicated.

↓ 6 *Κλειοῖ* corr. to *Κλειοῖ*. For the variation in spelling cf. Pi. *Pae.* 7a. 7 (with Schol. *N.* 2. 17c), *N.* 3. 83; at B. 3. 3 *Κλειοῖ* is written but must scan - . *Κλε(ι)οῖ* B. 3. 3 and 12. 2, each at outset of poem. It is possible that this is the first line of a new poem, and l. 4 the last line of the preceding one (or conceivably a heading, but nothing points in that direction except its isolation).

7 *Πολυ[δ]εύκ[-]*.

8 *βαρ]βαρικ[-]*.

## 3697. LYRIC

Plate I

73/1(a)

2.4 × 4.7 cm

Second century

Written in an informal second-century hand tending to cursive which I have not recognized among other lyric manuscripts from Oxyrhynchus, this scrap mentions an *ἀρχαγέτας* and for all its exiguity may I think fairly be said to convey the impression of Pindar or Bacchylides, epinician or not, though the apparent occurrence of *αῖ* in l. 6 is something of a deterrent against such ascription.

. . . . .  
 ] [ . . . . .  
 ]υβιο[ . . . . .  
 ]. γεγεννα[ . . . . .  
 ]αρχαγέτα[ . . . . .  
 ]τ'ανθεμίξ[ . . . . .  
 5 ] . μεμαλεν[ . . . . .  
 ' ]ζόντ' αἰμ[ . . . . .  
 ]. ουδοζηρ. [ . . . . .  
 ] . . . ' . . . [ . . . . .  
 . . . . .

The space above ]υβιο[ is slightly greater than the normal interlinear space, so that this may be column top 2 ], raised upright as of ν 5 ],, oblique at upper right as of ε, υ 6 αῖ, offsets or washed-out ink to lower left and above; the papyrus was damaged when written on 7 ],, two specks suggesting raised upright as of ν . [, α suggested 8 Various letter-top traces

1 ]υβιο[. Though I suppose βίος or cognate has far greater probability, the possibility of Talthybius may be worth mentioning (cf. *Hdt.* 7. 134?).

2 Probably *κεῖνό]ν γε, τῶ]ν γε vel sim.*

3 ἀρχαγέτα[ι dat. is probable in view of the *longum*. Whether hero or god (in the latter case the odds must be with Apollo), I see little hope of any but speculative identification on present evidence.

4 ἀνθελμίζ[ι. In the absence of other diacritics ἀνθελμίζ- may be assumed, in which case very probably *θελμίζενος*, attested at Pi. *Pae.* 6. 131 τὰν θελμίζενον ἀρετ[άν with reference to Aegina. That together with such image-corroborating passages as *O.* 8. 20-23, *N.* 4. 11 f., 5. 8 and *I.* 9. 4-6 is perhaps an encouragement to think of Aegina here too, and mention of Heracles (7?) would certainly be at home in an Aeginetan ode; but alternatives must be many.

5 ο]ύ(?) μέμαλε(ν) seems indicated. This 'hyper-Doric' form is probably to be recognized in a Pindaric dithyramb, XXVI 2445 1 ii 10, where see Lobel.

6 ']ςόντ'. The grave accent probably implies masc. sing. or neut. pl. participle. The position of the first accent suggests that ]ς was immediately preceded by a vowel: therefore presumably future.

-τ' αμμ[ι. The letters are damaged but the reading is hard to avoid. Unless the dialect is either Aeolic or strong Doric (cf. *PMG* 87) it would seem that αἰ is to be recognized, as transmitted just twice in the Brit. Mus. Bacchylides papyrus and so far as I am aware not at all in Pindar; and virtually not in tragedy.

7 ]ρουδοσηρα[ι. Perhaps mention of Heracles (Heraclidae, Hera), preceded by οδδός (the first trace scarcely compatible with φ]ροῦδος or -ς]πουδος, \**Ενουδος* unlikely). Heracles and οδδός in mutual vicinity at B. fr. 4. 21, but I see no relevance in that. It would be foolhardy to assume that Heracles or even a Heraclid is himself the ἀρχαγέτας, though that is of course possible.

### 3698. EARLY HEXAMETERS: *Argonautica*?

Plate II

17 2B.55/H(a)

7 × 28.8 cm

Second century

A tall strip with line-beginnings, badly abraded in places, written in the same hand as XXX 2513 and apparently from the same manuscript. Like 2513, 3698 is written on the back of a document (a register) running in the opposite direction, and the physical appearance of the two fragments is so similar as to leave little doubt that they are parts of one and the same manuscript, one would guess from the same vicinity.

2513 has been thought to concern the sacrifice of Iphigenia (R. Janko, *ZPE* 49 (1982) 25-9, after ed. pr. on 14 ff.). 3698 is unmistakably Argonautic: we have Orpheus (10), Mopsus (14), Jason (17), Aetes (18), and a ship (25, 30). Orpheus plays (10-11), Mopsus makes a speech (15-22), the first word of which is νόστος; if 16 γάμ[ον is right, he says Jason must marry—Medea, evidently. Little else of the action emerges with any clarity. But the narrative is told in the first person (ἐγώ 12). The speaker cannot be Orpheus as in the Orphic *Argonautica*; I will not suggest the Argo herself; perhaps Jason reminiscing?

The Homeric tincture noted of 2513 is in evidence here too, and there is an ugly hiatus at 25. Verse of such unrefined character could be late, but nothing betrays this composition as such, and the likeliest supposition is that it is archaic. But ascription is difficult, with or without 2513; I can make no convincing link with any known fragments or testimonia, and see nothing specially in favour of the *Naupactica*.

Elision is regularly signalled, other lectional aids are provided sparingly (a grave accent in 12, δ' ἐγω). A second hand has added punctuation, in the form not of a round dot but of a short thick oblique, placed above the line: less markedly different from an

ordinary stop than the intratextual oblique found in L 3533, and I would not suppose it has any function other than ordinary punctuation. For its occurrence in 2513 see the note appended to the commentary below. I represent it in the transcript as a high stop.

]. . . [  
 ]τ'υ. [  
 ]ρωφατ' [. ]υ. [  
 ]. νυμ. . []οσ [  
 5 ]ωσκρα[ ]π[. ]ω. [  
 . υ. αρπω. . ρα [  
 ουδεπω. [ . . ] ρ. [  
 . νοιηι. . ιζηω [  
 ]ηρασκον·τοτεδ [  
 10 ]. αγρ. υ. [ . . ] οσνι [  
 πλη. . . . . ει. [  
 τουδ' ἐγωο[ . . ] τα [  
 αυταρεπειδ. . λ [  
 μοψοσδητοτ' επει. [  
 μεν  
 15 γοστοσδηπαντο [  
 . ρητελεσαιγ. μ [  
 ]coniδημη [  
 αιητεω·χηδαμ. [  
 αλλα. . . ω. . []υ [  
 20 χρηματακαιξ [  
 ]

c. 6 ]. . . [  
 c. 5 ]τ'υ. [  
 στ]ρωφάτ' [. ]υ. [  
 . ]. νυμ. . οσ [  
 ῶσ κρα[ι]π[ν]ῶσ [  
 οὐ γάρ πω . . ρα [  
 οὐδέ πω α[. . ] ρ. [  
 πνοιῆι ὑπ' αἰζήω[ι  
 γ]ήρασκον· τότε δ[ὴ  
 Ο]ἰάγρου φ[ί]λος νι[ὸς  
 πληκτρ. . . εἰ. [  
 τοῦ δ' ἐγὼ ο[. . ] τα [  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ . λ [  
 Μόψος δὴ τότε' ἐπει [  
 Νόστος μὲν δὴ παντο [  
 χρῆ τελέσαι γάμ[ον  
 Αἰ]coniδημη [  
 Αἰήτεω· χρῆ δαμ. [  
 ἄλλα. . . ω. . αυ [  
 χρήματα και ξε [  
 ]

The surface is much damaged, which makes decipherment and transcription difficult in places. Where no ink remains and there may have been letter loss I put square brackets. 3 .[, apparent arc with suggestion of mid-stroke as of ε, θ 4 ]., two specks, one low . . , first indeterminate, second perhaps cross-bar of ν 6 .υ, consistent with ο, α not excluded . α, γ or τ . . , partial letter-tops, πα not commended 7 After ω, only α of vowels? Before ρ, letter-top speck After ρ, upright 8 . . , to left of hole an upright, to right a descending oblique ligatured to ι 10 ]., upright bent to left at top .[, left side of apparent circlet and high speck ]., α or λ ς, or ο 11 After η, κ or χ acceptable, then miscellaneous traces on torn and displaced papyrus, possibly τρωι, then trace of letter-top horizontal as of γ before ε .[, foot of upright 13 . . , η acceptable for first, then specks on abraded surface 14 .[, possible upright 15 ρ[, or ω, hardly α or ε 16 .μ, scanty traces, μ identified on basis of curl at lower left 18 .[, trace suitable for μ but perhaps not excluding β, π, φ 19 . . . , first probably γ or π, then three letter-top traces . . [, first an arc on the line as of ε, θ, ς, second an angle on the line as of α, in which case no letter lost before γ

ευφήμ. [ ]ς·δα. . . . [ ]  
 πουτο. . [ ]ο. . ω[ ]μ[ ]  
 .εφαθ. . . α. ατου. [ ]  
 εσδεχρη. ατε. ευ[ ]  
 25 . ηαευ[ . . ]ελμον. . [ ]  
 εσθλ. . . . φη. [ ]η. [ ]  
 ως[ . ] . . . . μ' α. . η. [ ]  
 . ξινοι[ . ]αντιαδει. . [ ]  
 . . ]ραψε[ . . ] . μενοτα[ ]  
 30 . . ]οσεπ[ . . ] . . φυρησ. [ ]  
 . ]νδεπ[ . . . . ]δη[ . ] . . [ ]  
 . ]λοιδ. . [ . . ]ο[ . ]π. ρ. . [ ]  
 . ]ρυ[ . ]ει. . . [ ] . . . . ρ[ ]  
 . ]ιεδι. [ . ]φ. . . [ . . ]ςειν[ ]  
 35 ] . φιλο. η. ευ[ . . . ]θαι. [ ]  
 . ]υ. αρ[ . ] . ο. . . [ . . . ]μο. [ ]  
 . . . . ε. . [ . . ] . . [ . . ] ιςκ[ ]  
 . . ]λλ. [ . . . ]λι. . ρ. . [ ]  
 . ]αι. . ετ[ . . ]δ. . ερ. [ ]  
 40 . . ]δωσπ. [ . ]ω[ . . . ] . . [ ]  
 . ]ωναλλ[ . . . ] . . [ ]  
 . . ] . κυνξ. . . [ . . ]ν. υ. [ ]  
 . . ]λ' εμε. . [ . . . . ] . ε[ ]  
 . . . . ευ. [ . . . . . ] . [ ]  
 45 . . . . . [ . . . . . ] . [ ]  
 . . . [ . . ] . . . [ ]  
 . . ]το[ . ] . . . [ . . ] . . [ . . ] . [ ]  
 . ]αι[ . ] . ε[ . . . . ] . . . [ ]  
 . . . ]λαμ. [ ]ν[ ]  
 50 c. 9 ]ωρρ[ ]  
 c. 10 ]ς. [ ]  
 c. 10 ]ε[ ]  
 c. 9 ] . υίς[ ]  
 c. 9 ]υσας[ ]  
 55 c. 9 ]οων[ ]  
 c. 9 ] . υ[ ]

εὐφήμως· δα. . . . [ ]  
 πόντον . [ . ]οι. ω[ . ]μ[ ]  
 ὡς ἔφαθ'· οἱ δ' ἄρα τοῦ . [ ]  
 ἐς δὲ χρήματ' ἔθεν[το  
 νῆα εὐ[ς]ελμον· λ[ ]  
 ἐσθλη. . . φη. [ . ]η. [ ]  
 ὡς[ . ] . . . . υμ' α. . η. [ ]  
 . ξινοί[ . ]αντιαδει. . [ ]  
 . . ]ραψε[ . . ] . μενοτα[ ]  
 νη]ὸς ἐπ[ί γ]λαφυρῆς ο. [ ]  
 . ]ν δεπ[ . . . . ]δη[ . ] . . [ ]  
 . ]λοιδ. . [ . . ]ο[ . ]περ. . [ ]  
 χ]ρυ[ς]εῖην. . . . ερ[ ]  
 . ]ιεδι. [ . ]φ. . . [ . . ]ςειν[ ]  
 ω φιλο. η. ευ[ . . . ]θαι. [ ]  
 ο]ὐδ' ἄρ[α] τοι . . [ . . . ]μο. [ ]

21 After  $\mu$ , lowish thick medial traces, space suitable for  $\omega$ , not for  $\sigma$  . . . . [ first a low speck suitable for  $\iota$ ,  $\rho$ ,  $\nu$ , then leg and suggestion of cross-bar of  $\tau$ , then perhaps  $\sigma$ , then indeterminate lowish trace 22 . . . [ two legs as of  $\nu$  or  $\pi$ , then traces on damaged surface perhaps suggesting  $\epsilon$  . . . , upright, perhaps  $\iota$ , then damage, a speck at lower right 23 . . . , consistent with  $\sigma\delta$  . . . [ trace off the line 24 After  $\tau\epsilon$ , suggestion of curve as of  $\theta$ ,  $\epsilon$  25 . . . [ free-standing oblique perhaps intended for high stop, then perhaps back of  $\lambda$  26 After  $\lambda$ , only  $\eta$  of vowels, then upright and further traces,  $\nu$  not suggested, then after an interval specks before  $\phi$  suggesting  $\epsilon$  . . . [ (*prim.*), heavy downward curve, surrounding surface lost . . . [ (*alt.*), two specks perhaps of upright 27 . . . . . , abraded, first three perhaps  $\epsilon\mu\epsilon$ , fourth perhaps  $\epsilon$  or  $\theta$ , fifth perhaps  $\alpha$ ,  $\lambda$ ,  $\kappa$ , sixth  $\nu$  suggested After  $\alpha$ , upright and upper right speck, then oblique suggesting back of  $\alpha$ ,  $\delta$ ,  $\lambda$  . . . [ letter-top speck 28 . . . , speck at lower right, e.g.  $\delta$ ,  $\kappa$  . . . [ . . . , room for e.g.  $\epsilon$ , hardly for  $\delta$  . . . [  $\alpha\mu$  suggested? 29  $\tau$ , or  $\gamma$  30 Before  $\phi$ , a best of vowels? . . . [ upper left of  $\nu$ ,  $\chi$ ? 31 . . . [ , or . . . ]? 32 ] $\lambda$ , or  $\alpha$  Anomalous ink above stop, see comm.  $\sigma$ , or  $\omega$  Before  $\rho$ , perhaps  $\epsilon$  ( $\omega[\epsilon]\pi\epsilon\rho$  poss.) . . . [ minimal specks 33 . . . [  $\eta\eta\mu$ ? . . . . . , specks at letter-top level, then possible top of  $\alpha$ , then a stroke rising rightwards from the line, then damage, then emergent mid-stroke of  $\epsilon$ ? 34  $\delta$ , to lower left a stroke unaccounted for . . . [ , perhaps  $\sigma$ , but anomalous . . . [ , minimal letter-foot specks 35 ] . . . , arc consistent with initial  $\omega$  After  $\sigma$ , specks not excluding  $\epsilon$  or  $\tau$  After  $\eta$ , specks compatible with  $\tau$ , hardly  $\epsilon$  36 After  $\nu$ , traces consistent with  $\delta$  . . . [ , letter-top horizontal? . . . [ , first possible upright, then minimal traces . . . [ , trace at letter-top level, hardly  $\psi$  37 ] . . . , first letter-top horizontal, second perhaps right side of  $\pi$ , third concave upright missing to right Before  $\mu$ , oblique as of  $\kappa$  or  $\lambda$  38 ] . . . ,  $\sigma$  rather than  $\alpha$  . . . [  $\alpha$ ? After  $\mu$ , oblique rising from lower left Before  $\rho$ , descending oblique  $\rho$ , or  $\sigma$  . . . [ , letter tops, e.g.  $\iota\epsilon$  39 ] $\alpha$ , or  $\lambda$  After  $\delta$ , perhaps  $\epsilon$  or  $\sigma$ , then specks suggesting  $\kappa$ ,  $\nu$ ,  $\chi$ ? . . . [ , low speck, e.g. foot of  $\iota$  40 After  $\tau$ , curved upright as of  $\eta$  42 ] . . . , mid-horizontal as of  $\epsilon$  . . . [ , first, back of  $\alpha$ ,  $\lambda$ ? second, left of  $\omega$ ? third, curved upright and specks,  $\nu$ ? Between  $\nu$  and  $\nu$ , variously assignable specks, perhaps two letters . . . [ , upper left trace as of  $\tau$  43  $\lambda$ , apostrophe doubtful 44 ] . . . , confused letter-top traces 45, 46 Scattered traces, surface stained 49 . . . [ ,  $\omega$ ,  $\sigma$ . ]? 53 A single dot directly above iota 55 ] $\rho$ , or  $\theta$

2 If  $\tau$ ?  $\nu$  is rightly read—there is damage, but I see no alternative— $\nu\mu\mu$ - would seem to be indicated.

3  $\epsilon\tau$ ]  $\rho\omega\phi\hat{\alpha}\tau$ : perhaps  $-\tau\alpha\iota$ , if in a simile (see on 5), otherwise  $-\tau\sigma$ . Then e.g.  $\epsilon\nu\theta$ [ $\alpha$  ( $\epsilon\nu\theta$ [ $\alpha$  και  $\epsilon\nu\theta\alpha$ ?) would suit.

4 e.g.  $\hat{\alpha}$ ]  $\chi\nu\acute{\nu}\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma$  or  $\hat{\alpha}$ ]  $\rho\nu\acute{\nu}\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma$  (but hardly  $\alpha$ ]  $\acute{\nu}\nu\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma$  or  $\hat{\alpha}$ ]  $\gamma\nu\acute{\nu}\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma$ ) would suit the traces, but other articulations are open, e.g. . . . ]  $\nu\nu$   $\mu\acute{\nu}\nu\sigma$ . Rhianus has  $\beta\acute{\iota}\acute{\omicron}\tau\omicron\iota\circ\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \delta\epsilon\ \kappa' \epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\nu\eta\varsigma$  |  $\epsilon\tau\rho\omega\phi\hat{\alpha}\tau\alpha\iota$ ,  $\mu\alpha\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\kappa\kappa\iota\nu\ \epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\ \mu\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\gamma\omicron\nu\ \alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \acute{\iota}\delta\pi\tau\epsilon\iota$  |  $\hat{\alpha}\ \chi\nu\acute{\nu}\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma$ ,  $\kappa\tau\lambda$ . (fr. 1. 3-5 Powell); but  $\delta$ ]  $\rho\nu\acute{\nu}\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma$  best for the context here?

5 ] $\omega\epsilon$   $\kappa\rho\alpha\iota\pi\nu\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  *Il.* 15. 83, 172, each time in exit from a simile. The terms of the previous two lines could be appropriate to the  $\nu\acute{\omicron}\sigma\epsilon$ , as in the first of the two Iliadic similes.  $\kappa\rho\alpha\iota\pi\nu\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  perhaps with reference to the  $\pi\nu\omicron\iota\acute{\gamma}$  of 8?

8  $\pi\nu\omicron\iota\acute{\gamma}$   $\acute{\upsilon}\pi'$   $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\zeta\eta\acute{\omega}$ ]  $\iota$ . A surprising phrase. Homer has  $\pi\nu\omicron\iota\acute{\gamma}$   $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\omicron}$   $\lambda\acute{\iota}\gamma\nu\rho\acute{\eta}$  (*Il.* 13. 590, 23. 215, cf. *Od.* 4. 402).  $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\zeta\eta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  is applied normally to men, and is used by Hellenistic and later poets, after Homer, more or less as a synonym for  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\eta}\rho$  or  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$ . I do not find it applied elsewhere to a feminine noun. Either this is a deliberate extension of the normal range of application, or the meaning has not yet become stereotyped; I presume the latter.  $\acute{\upsilon}\pi'$  (or  $\acute{\upsilon}\pi'$ )  $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\zeta\eta\acute{\omega}$ ]  $\nu$  is formally available but is hardly encouraged by Hes. *Th.* 863  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\chi\nu\eta\iota$   $\acute{\upsilon}\pi'$  (or  $\acute{\upsilon}\pi'$ )  $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\zeta\eta\acute{\omega}\nu$ .

Is this an adverse wind which impedes the Argonauts' sailing? That might make a thematic connection with 2513, if that does indeed concern the sacrifice of Iphigenia, the more so if a seer then reveals the measures necessary to achieve a cessation. (Cf. AR 1. 1092 ff.) Marrying Medea is hardly comparable with sacrificing a daughter, but Apollonius' Jason is at least reluctant. Alternatively we could try to fit 2513 to 3698: 8  $\Theta\rho\eta\kappa\acute{\omega}$ ] and 22  $\delta\nu$ ]  $\chi\epsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega$ ]  $\iota$  could cohere well enough, but I can offer no cogent interpretation of 2513 as Argonautic (26  $\alpha$ .  $\epsilon\iota\eta$  is hardly  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\iota\eta$ ]  $\epsilon$ , almost certainly  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\iota\eta$ ]). But I do not know what to make of  $\gamma$ ]  $\eta\rho\alpha\kappa\kappa\omicron\nu$  in the present papyrus, on this or any other construction; applied to the effects of being weather-bound it is excessively hyperbolic.

Perhaps  $\gamma$ ]  $\eta\rho\alpha\kappa\kappa\omicron\nu$  contrasts with  $\kappa\rho\alpha$ ]  $\epsilon$ ]  $\pi$ ]  $\nu$ ]  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ ; e.g., for not yet (6-7) were they (the crew) aged by their buffeting on the sea (8). This suggestion is due to Mr Parsons, who also raises the possibility of  $\theta$ ]  $\eta\rho\alpha\kappa\kappa\omicron\nu$  as a theoretical alternative, cf.  $\gamma\eta\rho\acute{\alpha}\omega$  alongside  $\gamma\eta\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\kappa\omega$ .

10 Orpheus. Cf. e.g. *Ἀδμήτου φίλος υἱός* *Il.* 23. 289. Apollonius avoids the banal collocation, but cf. Hermesian. 7. 1 *Ποὐὲλ οἶν μὲν φίλος υἱός ἀνήγαγεν Οἰάγρουο*.

11 *πλήκτρω ἐπερήτιζε* (*κατὰ μέρος/μέλος*) is suggested by *HH Herm.* 53, 419, 501, and is I think compatible with the remains: perhaps *πλήκτρω ἰ' ἐπειρ*], though the trace of the first ε looks more like the top of an upright: rather *πλήκτρω πειρ[ήτιζε]*? Apollonius' mutation is *ἀν δὲ καὶ Ὀρφεὺς | λαιῆ ἀνασχόμενος κίθαριν πείραξεν ἀοιδῆς*, 1. 494f.

12 ο[ῦα]τα would make a good fit, though I should have rather expected a reference to the music (*ῥαββαν, ὀμφήν* excluded).

13 *ἐλ[ηξε (καὶ . . .)]?* But (a) why not *λῆξε*? (b) the specks before λ perhaps suggest a rather than ε.

14ff. Mopsus' speech, with its *χρής* perhaps indicating prophetic authority (cf. e.g. *AR* 1. 1092 *Αἰκονίδη χρεῖω κε κτλ.*), apparently occupies *ll.* 15–22. 14 *ἔπει[τα]* highly probable.

15 *μὲν* is added by the copyist himself. *δῆ* is to stand, I take it. The connection between 15 and 16 is unclear. 'The return of every man (*παντρός*, otherwise *πάντρο[ς(ε)]*) depends on this: Jason must marry Medea'?

16ff. *γάμ[ον]* is not assured but makes a good reading. One of the parties is apparently Jason (17 *Αἰ[κονίδην]*); the other is not inevitably Medea but *Αἰήττω* is suggestive and *μη* inviting, e.g. *Μῆ[δειαν ἄγοντ' εὐώπιδα κούρην]*. Cf. *AR* 4. 1161f. *οὐ μὲν ἐν Ἀλκινόοιο γάμον μενέαινε τελέεσαι | ἥρωα Αἰκονίδης . . . τότ' αὖ χρεὼ ἦγε μυχῆναι*. The location and circumstances of the wedding varied from author to author, see esp. Schol. *AR* 4. 1141, 1153–4, 1217–19a: at Colchis (near the river, Antimachus; with Aectes' blessing, Timonax), on Corcyra (in Alcinous' palace, Philetas; in Macris' cave, Ap. Rhod.; commemorative altars set up near the sea, Timaeus), at Byzantium (Dionys. Scytobrach.). *Hes. Thg.* 997–9 is most naturally read as implying that the wedding did not take place until they were back in Iolcus (cf. *AR* 4. 1162f.).

18 *δ' ἄμμ[ε]*?

19 *ἀλλ' ἀγάμω* is a possibility, as is *ἀλλὰ γάμω θάν[ατον]*, but *χαμ* is far from inevitable; e.g. *πόνω* would be just as good. *ἀλλ' ἄγε* not suggested.

21 Not *Ἐσφημος*. *δ' αὐτόν* might suit for what follows, but the stop is clear; a possible reading is *δαιτός*.

22 *πόντογ*: or *Πόντογ*, the Euxine? Not *ποντοπορ*-.

23 Perhaps the Homeric *ὡς ἔφαθ'*, οἱ δ' ἄρα τοῦ μάλα μὲν κλύον ἦδὲ πίθοντο.

24f. Probably: the men loaded the *χρήματα* (cf. 20) on to the ship. Cf. *Hes. Op.* 672 *φόρτον τ' ἐς πάντα τίθεσθαι*, *AR* 1. 357f. *ῥπλα δὲ πάντα | ἐνθέμενοι*.

25 *νῆα ἐύ[ε]λεμον*: the hiatus presumably not in learned imitation of Homer's *οἴλε Ὀνειρε* but— analogously with that—the hapless result of singularizing *νῆα*ς *εὐεκέλμων*. Arguably comparable phenomena occur in Hesiod too (see West's *Theogony*, pp. 95f.). Unless merely late and bad, the poem will be early.

26 Perhaps *ἐεθλή*, the *ε* a subsequent addition; but I can recover no more.

27 *ὡς [γ]έ με θαῦμ' ἄτλητ[ον]* is the best I can do with the remains. *κῶμ'* perhaps not excluded.

28 *κείνοι[ε]*, *δεινοί[ε]* *ἀντία*? Then not *δευ*-following.

30 *νηὸς ἐπὶ γλαφυρῆς* *Od.* 4. 357, *νῆα ἐπὶ γλαφυράς* *Il. passim*.

31 Even if only one letter is lost at the beginning, there are several possibilities (*ἄν, ἐν, ἦν*), and e.g. *τὸν* is not excluded. No apostrophe after *δ*, so probably *δέ*. (Apostrophe omitted in 18, but possibly lost in 8, 23 *bis*, 24; present in 12, 14, 27.) Then *Π[. . .]δη[ε]* suggests itself as a possibility, but I find no one apt.

32 *ἄλλοι* looks rather cramped but is perhaps acceptable; *ἄλλ[λ]οι* also may be possible; or *].α[ι]οι*. I do not know what to make of some ink above the oblique punctuation mark, presumably an interlinear addition, which may be by the second hand; not a simple stop, and hardly *ε* or *ε*, and a double point would be most surprising; there may have been loss, at either side.

33 *χ]ρ[υ]εῖν μ[ε]τὰ χερ[ε]ί* is a possible decipherment (*χερ[ε]ῖν ἔχων, ἐλών?*). *περόν[η]ν* a far-fetched possibility for 32.

34 *υ]ῖ* or *υ]ῖ* *Διός[ε]* offers. The latter, followed by *φίλο[ε]ῖ* (*καί*)? In the next line *φῶ φίλότῆτ'* will then be less attractive than *φῶ φίλος*: followed by *ῆ* (*ῆ τεύ[ε]ξ[α]ς[θ]αι, ῆ τ' εῖδ[ε] [θ]έ[ε]θ[α]ι*, e.g.)? Addressee: Castor and/or Polydeuces? or Heracles (as at *III* 15. 1, 9) likelier? It seems the speech—an appeal?—begins at 34, but I do not see where it ends. Heracles' place in the Argonautic expedition was not fixed: he was the leader (Dionys. Scyt., *DS* 4. 41), he was left at Aphetae (*Hes. fr.* 263 M–W), he did not take part at all (Herodorus, *IGrHist* 31 F 41).

40 *οἰδ' ὦς*? But no apostrophe written. *μη]δ'* too long if the obvious supplements in the neighbouring lines are correct (38 *π]ολλὰ*, 39 *κ]αί*, 41 *τ]ῶν*).

49 The Argonaut *Παλαίμων* is conceivable, but I do not think the number of letters lost at the line beginning is much underestimated.

It may be appropriate to append a couple of notes on 2513, which I have inspected under glass.

(1) Punctuation. Mr Lobel in ed. pr. drew attention to the presence at a number of places of 'what looks most like a thick acute accent where it is inappropriate'. With the benefit of 3698, where the same mark occurs in ll. 9, 18, and 21 and is evidently to be interpreted as a stop added by a second hand (cf. intro.), we may recognize punctuation in 2513 and read as follows: 8 ]ε· Θρηκῶ[, 28 -ην·, 29 ]. κεφαλῆν· ευν[, 33 ]. τα· τὸν ἐεεϋ[μεν·.

(2) Metrical position. Dr Janko, art. cit., reconstructs. At 16-18, however, it is clear that only a single foot is missing before the extant text. Line 15, - - ἐ]υπλ[όκ]αμος κτλ., stands in vertical alignment with l. 16, which will accordingly be - - - ]ηετ[· ἀν]αξ ἀνδρῶν (for ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν straddling the caesura cf. ll. 1. 7; rather than Janko's ἦετ[ο, perhaps -ηε τ[ε, as there, e.g. *Ἀτρεΐδ]ηε, Αἰήτ]ηε*); and so on.

## 3699. PHILOSOPHICAL DIALOGUE

Plates III, IV

25 3B.55/C(a)

fr. (a) 26 × 14 cm

Second century

Several fragments, the largest of which, fr. (a), has upper parts of four consecutive columns; the others may belong to these same columns, and have been tentatively so assigned, but they defy definitive placement. The text is written in a good-sized, very round, slightly sloping hand which avails itself of ligatures and shows no thick-thin contrast. The tail of ρ descends, but ν and ξ are confined, and ο is not diminished or laterally compressed; ω, φ, and μ are similarly full. The hand is not easy to date. Most of the letter-forms are matched by PSI X 1176, which was written before AD 60, but 3699 gives a distinctly later impression, the leftward curve of the uprights being much less pronounced. XXXVIII 2829, assigned to the later third or early fourth century, is also worth comparing, though several of its letters are differently formed. While the appearance of ε and sometimes of λ might suggest a later third-century date, I should be inclined to place 3699 in the second century, and perhaps in the first half.

Most but not all of the punctuation is by a second hand. Speaker-change is apparently signalled as usual by double point in conjunction with paragraphus, and it seems that paragraphus also accompanies major stops (fr. (a) ii 11, iv 5?); a forked paragraphus at fr. (b) ii 1. οδ is given a breathing (of interesting form) at fr. (b) i 3, perhaps again at fr. (c) i 2. The scribe made several running corrections, and there are interventions by the second hand.

The dialogue is in reported form. Not only the interlocutor's but also the main speaker's utterances are reported in the third person; no formula other than εφη is in evidence, used recurrently for both sides of the exchange in fr. (a) iii; cf. e.g. X. *Symp.* There are no names or addresses to be seen. In the short dialectical passage the interlocutor feeds token responses, elsewhere the main speaker holds forth. The story of Alcmeon is adduced, a Euripidean diatribe against athletes is directly quoted. The main speaker may or may not be Socrates; who the narrator may be, there is no sign.

The content is standard protreptic fare. Possessions, glory, beauty, and so forth are liable to do more harm than good to the ἀπαίδευτος: they are 'like a knife to a child'



(fr. (d) i 6-7)—a phrase which recalls the same proverb's use in similar context in IV 666, a treatise plausibly identified as Aristotle's *Protrepticus* and showing notable affinity with the argumentation here. Whether or not there is direct dependence, our dialogue may itself belong to the fourth century. Its philosophy is of generic brand, in substance as in expression; there is no more technical language than ἀκρασία (fr. (d) i 12). It does not read like a Hellenistic diatribe, nor does it betray itself as a product of the Second Sophistic. If late, it may best be called pseudo-Platonic; but I see nothing that really stamps it as such. No better than a fragile case for lateness could be built on the vocabulary (see on fr. (a) ii 13-14 κακοδαιμονίζεω, fr. (b) i 5 ἀλυσιτελής, fr. (d) i 12-13 ἡδυνάθειαι; likewise with the asyndetic strings at fr. (d) i 2 and fr. (a) iv 3-5) or on the insipidity of the argument. Probably the earliest name with a claim to consideration is Antisthenes, who wrote a *Protrepticus* and is said to have described ἀπαιδευτοὶ as ἐνούπνια ἐγρηγορότα (fr. 68 Caizzi). The lists of Aristotle's own works include a περὶ παιδείας. But there was no lack of post-Aristotelian ethical and protreptic productions, of which at least some will have taken dialogue form, and without more determinate clues there seems small chance of establishing authorship.

fr. (a)	col. i
	] . .
	] ονειε
	] υτρογ
	] πνων
5	] . ε[ . ] ες
	] ενηε
	] ναν.
	] νρον
	]
10	] .
	] . . [ ] . ω . . . . .
	] . τφς . . ω . . . . .
	] . . [ ]
	]
15	] .
	] ρ
	] .
	. . .

1 ] . . , γι or τι suggested  
abrasion 12 ] . , trace at upper right consistent with  
washed-out ink; perhaps θεω

7 . . , diminutive, η?  
13 ] . . [ , perhaps οι

11 ] . . [ , lower parts of οε? After ω, severe  
After φς, surface abraded, and some offset or  
16 ] ρ, or ω 17 ] . , η?

fr. (a) col. ii

	. ]. οναν[	
	κια[. ]οληνα[	
	. ονποιησαιε[. . ]κεν	. ον ποιῆσαι εἴ[νε]κεν
	αργυριουπαλιντεο[.]	ἀργυρίου· πάλιν τε ὁ [Ἄλ]-
5	κμεωνωσπαρακεξο	κμέων ὡς παρακεκο-
	φ[.] στικαιοιομενος	φώς τις καὶ οἰόμενος
	χα. [.] [.] θ. . τιητωι. .	χαρ[ι]ε[ίς]θαί τι ἢ τῷ πα-
	]θεοις-την	τρὶ ἢ τοῖς] θεοῖς τὴν
	. . τε. [.] αποκτεινας	μητέρ[α] ἀποκτείνας
10	. . . . [.] . . . εμενεπι	. . . . [.] . . . τεμεν ἐπι
	θυ. . . . αποκτειναι	θυ. . . . ἀποκτείναι,
	. ζτε. ονδεποιη. ας	ὑστερον δὲ ποιήσας
	μεταμελεσθαικαικα	μεταμέλεσθαι καὶ κα-
	κοδαιμονιζειναντον	κοδαιμονίζειν αὐτὸν
15	καιμαινες[	καὶ μαίνες[θαι
	τωνουκ[	των ουκ[

fr. (b)

col. i

col. ii

c. 5	] . ατ[. . . ]ωνλ. [ ]	π[.] τα. [.] α[
c. 6	] εν[. . ]υκε	δοξο[
c. 5	] ετοδουνεφεη	τιτ[
c. 5	] μοχθηροςεστιν.	
5	c. 6 ] βουκαλυσιτε	
	] . ι	

fr. (a) ii. Since 1 stands opposite the second line of col. i, which has column top, probably only one line is lost from the top of this column 1 ], horizontal as of γ, τ, coming in to top of ο 3 ., apparent vertical, thick at top and bending strongly to left at foot, an uncharacteristically formed ρ? ]κ, or χ 4 [ . ], [ . ] not excluded 6 [ ], arc with run ink, ω acceptable 7 After α, upright ] . [, upper right speck After θ, αι suggested? At end, lower parts of πα? 9 . ., specks consistent with μη . [, descender 10 At beginning, traces on broken fibres, κ suggested, then letter tops only: upright, tight arc, upright ] . . ., traces on broken surface, variously assignable: angle at upper right (π?), suggestions of arc as of ο, third perhaps τ 11 After υ, most of surface gone, first more suitable for μ than ε, then foot of upright, then damage and substantial but not readily identifiable traces (αι, ν possible?) before α At end, high stop possibly lost

fr. (b) i 1 ] ., μ? λ, or χ . [, suggestion of upright as of ι 2 [ . ], space suitable c.g. for [ηο], [αιο] 3 οὐ, what I have transcribed as a breathing has a complete loop at the right-hand end 6 ] ., upper loop, ρ or (better?) β?

fr. (c) col. i

	. . . . .		
	. . . . .		
	. . . . .		
	. . . . .		
	. . . . .		
5	. . . . .	col. ii	
	. . . . .		
c. 7	. . . . .		

fr. (a) col. iii

	. . . . .		
	. . . . .		
	. . . . .		
	. . . . .		
5	. . . . .		
	. . . . .		
10	. . . . .		

fr. (c) i 1 ], perhaps π, otherwise two letters. Below, trace of a tight arc, missing below, perhaps of a breathing on 2 ου formed as in fr. (b) i 3 4 . [, top of arc as of ε, ο, c ] . , foot of upright [[ε]], c crossed through, damaged trace above consistent with i 5 ] . . . , letter tops consistent with παρ After η, traces on damaged surface consistent *inter alia* with δ 6 ] . . . [, letter tops, first two perhaps να ] . . , first perhaps ξ or ε (τε?), second upper left of λ, ν? After υ, very heavy and thick, perhaps in correction or cancellation, c? 7 ] . . , ιο?

fr. (c) ii 1 τ[, see comm. on fr. (d) i 13f.

fr. (a) iii. Four or five lines are lost from the top of the column. 7 At beginning, traces consistent with ν with cancel-dot above . . [, apparent upright bent to left at foot, and another trace at foot to right, very close Between ε and η, ascender 9 a lightly crossed through and dotted above ] . . . . , upper curve as of ε or ο, specks of feet, horizontal (letter top or ε), some of surface lost at end 11 After τ, curve as of ε or (better?) ο, top of upright After λ, apparent upright ] . , perhaps μ At end, trace possibly belonging to extended tail of α



fr. (d) col. ii

> . [ . . . . . ] κα  
 > [κων γαρ οντων μυρι  
 > ων [καθ' Ελλαδα ο]υθ[εν  
 [>]κακ[ε] [ιον ε]στιν αθλη  
 5 > τ[ων γε]γους οι πρω  
 > τον οικειν [ο]υτε μα[ν  
 > θανουσιν εν ουτ αν [δυ  
 > ναιτο πως γαρ [οστις  
 > εστ ανηρ γνα[θου τε δου  
 10 > λος νηδυος θ η[ττη  
 > μενος κτη[σαιτ αν

fr. (a) i 4 τερ]πνών?

fr. (a) ii. '... for the sake of money; and again when Alcmeon like a crazed man and thinking he'd be doing either his father or the gods a favour killed his mother, at the time(?) he was in a passion(?) to do the killing, but later he regretted doing it and reckoned himself ill-starred, and went mad . . .'

<sup>2</sup> Not διαβολήν; e.g. [τὴν οὐκία[ν] δλην? Then if the trace at the base of the first letter of l. 3 is a paragraphus rather than part of the letter itself, ἀ[νάστα]|τρον (Rea) may be possible.

<sup>3-4</sup> ἔ[νε]κεν| ἀργυρίου. If an exemplum (see next n.), conceivably Eriphyle (cf. *Od.* 15. 247, *Hor. Od.* 3. 16. 12 f. *domus ob lucrum / demersa exitio*, *Hyg. fab.* 73 *doni cupidida*), though the necklace was actually of gold (*Od.* 11. 327).

<sup>4</sup> ff. πάλιν τε: the latter of a pair of *exempla*? It is not clear precisely what the story is meant to show: apparently something to the effect that the ἀπαίδευτος (fr. (a) iii 4-5), i.e. (?) someone who fails to control his ἐπιθυμίας (10-11, cf. ἀκρασία at fr. (d) i 12), does not have a good (happy?) life. The conclusion drawn seems to be that if a person's life is bad it is also unprofitable and harmful, see on fr. (b) i 3-5 below. The context may be distinguished from that of e.g. *Pl. Grg.* 470 ff., where the example chosen, Archelaus, is of someone apparently εὐδαίμων (cf. *Arist. SE* 173<sup>a</sup>26 τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς ἄδοξον τὸ βασιλέα μὴ εὐδαιμονεῖν, adduced by Dodds *ad loc.*), and the point here is probably less subtle: tragedy is liable to strike even (or especially) people of great wealth and power. Cf. *Isoc. ad Nic.* 5 ἐπειδὴν . . . ὀρώσι τοὺς μὲν ὑφ' ὧν ἦκιστα χρῆν διεφθαρμένους, τοὺς δ' εἰς τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους ἐξαμαρτεῖν ἠγαγκαμένους [such as Alcmeon] . . . , πάλιν ὄπωκοῦν ζῆν ἡγούνται λυσιτελεῖν μάλλον ἢ μετὰ τοιούτων συμφορῶν ἀπάσης τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεύειν. Alcmeon is more summarily adduced at [*Pl.*] *Alc.* II 143 c 10, in tandem with Orestes (Orestes can hardly be the preceding *exemplum* here, in view of ἔ[νε]κεν ἀργυρίου); cf. *Arist. EN* 1110<sup>a</sup>28 (Euripides'), *Rh.* 1397<sup>b</sup>3 (Theodectes').

Alcmeon committed his matricide in obedience to his father's injunction (so *Hyg. fab.* 73, *DS* 4. 65. 7; *L. Alcmeon*) or in obedience to an oracle of Apollo (so *Apollod.* 3. 7. 5). If 7-8 are rightly restored, our author was evidently familiar with both versions.

<sup>7</sup> χαρ[ε] [ε] [ε] [θαι. χαρ[ε] [ε] [ε] [θαι could alternatively be read, but seems slightly less well suited to the space. The phrasing closely matches *Th.* 8. 65. 2 (on the murder of Androcles) οἰόμενοι τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ . . . χαριεῖσθαι.

<sup>10</sup> f. How to restore? ἔτμεν could be read in 10, but this seems to lead nowhere. More promising is μέν: a phrase in parallel with 12 ὑστερον δέ? τότε μέν, I should suppose, though it may have been rather ποτε μεν that was written (|τ perhaps not quite excluded, but |π is suggested). If this is so far right, at the beginning of l. 10 we could look for a main verb to govern both the τότε μέν and the ὑστερον δέ clauses (despite the apparent paragraphus—which is not a trema on the υ of ὑστερον—at 11/12) and in 10-11 try ἐπιθυμείν or ἐπιθυμῶν. But this is problematic. (i) I can suggest no suitable verb at 10 *init.* The first letter appears to be κ; and while εἰ or αἰ

would be possible directly before  $\tau\rho\tau\epsilon$ , there seems then to be room for only one letter intervening,  $\chiαίρει$  would be very forced. (ii)  $\epsilonπιθυ-$  is apparently  $\epsilonπιθυμ-$  rather than  $\epsilonπι\thetaυciai$  vel sim., and I cannot positively exclude any of  $\epsilonπιθυμειν$ ,  $\epsilonπιθυμων$ ,  $\epsilonπιθυμησαι$ ,  $\epsilonπιθυμιαι$ , but I find no reading entirely free from objection. Against  $\epsilonπιθυμειν$  or  $\epsilonπιθυμων$  is the somewhat anomalous form of the putative  $\nu$ ; but I find no more satisfactory reading.

13-14  $\kappaακοδαιμονιζειν αυτον$ .  $αυτον$  is written with no breathing, and  $αυτον$  may be intended, but  $αυτον$  is surely requisite.

*LSJ* cite no instance of  $\kappaακοδαιμονιζειν$  earlier than Philo Mechanicus (iii-ii BC), and  $\kappaακοδαιμων$  and cognates are no part of Aristotle's or Plato's regular vocabulary; but X. *Mem.* 1. 6. 3 has  $\nuμιζει \kappaακοδαιμονιας διδασκαλος ειναι$  (Antiphon to Socrates in an anecdote concerning  $\epsilonυδαιμονια$ ), and  $\kappaακοδαιμονιζειν$  is easily formed, especially if the context is a discussion of  $\epsilonυδαιμονια$ . Lack of control over  $\epsilonπιθυμιαι$  an impediment to  $\epsilonυδαιμονια$ ?

Placement of fr. (b) and (c). I cannot verify on physical grounds the lateral placement of fr. (b) and (c) relative either to fr. (a) (fr. (b) i-ii and fr. (c) i-ii = fr. (a) ii-iii) or to fr. (d) (fr. (b) ii and fr. (c) ii = fr. (d) i), but it is certainly acceptable. The vertical position of fr. (b) cannot be fixed, but if fr. (d) is correctly ranged with fr. (a) iii-iv it can stand at no great distance beneath fr. (a), and there may be no line lost between fr. (a) ii 16 and fr. (b) i 1. Fr. (c) has column foot, as has fr. (d); and that the two surviving line-beginnings of fr. (c) ii belong with the last two lines of fr. (d) ii is to a degree confirmed by fibre correspondence. If fr. (b), (c), and (d) are rightly identified as belonging to the lower parts of cols. ii-iv of fr. (a) as suggested, at least three lines are lost between fr. (b) and fr. (c), and if fr. (b) ii 3 and fr. (d) i 1 are consecutive lines, as fibre correspondence between the two fragments perhaps suggests, the number of lines lost between fr. (b) and fr. (c) will be about four.

fr. (b) i. "'... So the man whose life(?) is bad," he said, "isn't his life(?) unprofitable (and harmful)?...'

1-3 If the suggested placement is right, this will be the end of the Alcmeon *exemplum*. (-)εν[αι ο]υκ ε[ι] c. 5 ]ετο, with Alcmeon as subject?

3 ff. I suppose something on the lines of ου ουν εφη | [ο βιος] μοχθηρος εστιν, | [εκεινο]ν ουκ αλυσιτε[ι]λης και βλαβερος ο] βη[ος] εστιν; if that is not intolerably jejune. Cf. fr. (c) i 2-4 and fr. (a) iii 1-6.

5  $\alphaλυσιτελης$  occurs just once in Plato, once in Isocrates, two or three times in Aristotle; their normal usage in such contexts as this is not ( $\delta$ )λυσιτελ- but ( $\alpha\nu$ )ωφελ-; but cf.  $\lambdaυσιτελειν$  at Isoc. *ad Nic.* 5 (cited on fr. (a) ii 4 ff. above). Nor does the use of  $\muοχθηρος$  and  $\betaλαβερος$  seem quite characteristic.

fr. (c) i. "'... The man whose life is unprofitable and harmful," he said, "what possession profits him?" "More pleasant..."

4-5  $\tauι... υπαρχειν$ . Cf. fr. (a) iii 9-10 below. I translate 'what possession', but the reference is not just to material possessions, cf. fr. (d) i 2 ff. below.

5-7  $\etaδιον τε του | [βιο]ν αλυ[ει]τελοϋς κα[ι] | βλαβεροϋ τ]οιοϋτος τα$  would fit, but I can do nothing with it. Perhaps cf. the point made by Antiphon to Socrates *ap.* X. *Mem.* 1. 6,  $\kappaαι μην χρηματα γε ου λαμβανεις, α... ελευθεριωτερον τε και ηδιον ποιει ζην$ .

fr. (c) ii. See on fr. (d) i 13-14 below.

fr. (a) iii. "'... his life is unprofitable and harmful?" "Unprofitable, certainly", he said. "So then," he said, "every uneducated person's life is bad, and his actions, or not?" "Yes indeed(?)", he said. "So what possession would profit such a person?" he said. "For if one were to seek(?)... individually..."

2 ...  $\epsilonστιν$ ; I punctuate as a question on the strength of the response and the continuation.

3 'Assentient'  $\muεν ουν$ , Denniston, *Gr. Parl.*<sup>2</sup> 476 ( $\muεν ουν$  iii(a)), where described as 'practically confined' to Plato.

4-5  $\παντος του απαιδευτου$ . Cf. fr. (d) i 7-8. For the insistence on  $\παιδεια$  cf. esp. Arist. *Protrept.* fr. 2, 4 Düring ( $\epsilonαν η πεπαιδευμενη sc. η ψυχη; απαιδευσια δε μετ' εξουσιας ανοια sc. τικτει$ ), Pl. *Grg.* 470 E; more remotely P. Flor. II 113, a Cynic(?) diatribe, and P. Flor. II 115 verso 1. 2-9.

6-7 It looks as if the copyist wrote  $\epsilonειν$ , and the corrector adjusted the syllabification.

7 Between  $\kappaαι$  and  $\epsilonφη$  I should have expected  $\ματα$ , but that is not to be read if the trace to the immediate right of the foot of the first stroke is taken account of. But nor does there seem any suitable alternative. If we discount the trace in question,  $\mu[αλ']$  might be acceptable (not  $\mu[αλα]$ : too tight).

9-10 The remains do not seem compatible with  $\lambdaυσιτ[ελ]ωϋς$  (or  $\epsilonιαν$ )  $\epsilon[ι]χοι$ , and better than  $\lambdaυσιτ[ελ]οιη \epsilonι$

ἐ|χοι might be λυσιτ[ε]λ|ἐξ ὑπ[ά]ρ|χοι. [α]ρ is cramped and α must have been written unusually small, but at line end that is acceptable.

11 ζητορ[η] would make a good reading. λήμα[τα] (e.g.) would make a better fit than λή[μ]μα[τα] for what follows: λή<μ>μα[τα], or something else altogether?

If fr. (b) i-ii belongs with fr. (a) ii-iii, as suggested above, fr. (b) ii will have stood two or more lines beneath fr. (a) iii 11.

Placement of fr. (d). The proposed lateral placement of this fragment (fr. (d) i-ii = fr. (a) iii-iv) is consistent with the fibres on the back. I cannot firmly establish its relation with fr. (b), but it may be that fr. (b) ii 1 and fr. (d) i 1 are consecutive lines, in which case there will have been five or more lines between fr. (a) iii 11 and fr. (d) i 1. An alternative, namely to join fr. (a) iii and fr. (d) i so as to read ζητορ[η], χρ[η]μα[τα] δόξα ῥώμη κάλλος in fr. (a) iii 11 (= fr. (d) i 1)—fr. (d) i 2, was tried, but no satisfactory result was achieved.

fr. (d) i. '... reputation, strength, beauty, ... are unprofitable for such a person. Any of such things to an uneducated person is 'like a knife to a child'. When there are material possessions he has the starting-point for lack of self-control, leading to fancy living and gaming and women and other kinds of. . .'

2 δόξα ῥώμη κάλλος. In view of what follows, as well as such lists elsewhere, preceded perhaps by πλούτος or χρήματα? No distinction is here made between bodily goods and external goods; the implicit distinction is merely between those on the one hand and goods of the soul (*vel sim.*) on the other. Similarly Arist. *Protrept.* (fr. 2-4 Düring), and cf. e.g. Pl. *Men.* 87 E-9 A, *Grg.* 451 E, Arist. *EN* 1. 3. 3 (1094<sup>b</sup>17). ῥώμη, picked up in fr. (a) iv, is more Platonic than Aristotelian.

3 πάντ[α] would fit at the beginning. I have no suggestion for 3-4; a correct guess could probably be verified.

6-7 ὡςπερ πα[ιδι]μά[χ]αιρα. Cf. esp. Arist. *Protrept.* fr. 4 Düring τὸ γὰρ "μὴ παιδι μάχαιραν" τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸ μὴ τοῖς φαύλοις τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐγχειρίζειν (IV 666 155-60, om. Stob. [Ar. fr. 57 Rose]). The context is the same but the application of the proverb in the papyrus is slightly different inasmuch as it is not restricted to power. Iamblichus' formulation, καὶ ἐπιφαλῆς καὶ ὅμοιον μαινομένω δοῦναι παιδι μάχαιραν καὶ μοχθηρῶ δύναμιν (*Protrept.* 9. 8), accords in this respect with Aristotle; similarly Plu. *ap. Stob. Flor.* 43. 136, in direct reference to the proverb, μὴ παιδι πλούτον μηδὲ ἀνδρὶ ἀπαιδευτῶ δυνάσειαν; and Ath. 5. 214A quotes the proverb in incoherent reference to τὰ Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ Θεοφράστου δόγματα. The proverb is glossed at *Corp. Paroem. Gr.* i 276 μὴ τοῖς ἀπείροις ἐγχειρεῖν (*leg. ἐγχειρίζειν*) μεγάλα πράγματα, μὴ πως καθ' ἑαυτῶν χρήσονται; cf. Call. fr. 75. 9. That our text is dependent on Aristotle's seems to me doubtful.

9ff. The infinitive is without a construction; did it come later in the sentence?

12-14 τ]ῆ ἀκρασία. I see no significant correlation with Aristotle's treatment of ἀκρασία (as distinct from ἀκολασία) in *EN* 7 or elsewhere.

ἡδυσ[π]αθία (= ἡδυσπαθείας) is not a certain reading but is I think in little real doubt. ἡδυσπάθεια, like ἡδυσπαθεῖν, occurs in Xenophon but not in Plato or extant Aristotle (*εὐπάθεια* Pl. *R.* 404D 9), nor in Demosthenes or Lysias. The most pertinent doxographical testimony concerns Aristippus, for whom εὐδαιμονία depended on ἡδυσπάθεια, which was the τέλος of life (Ath. 12. 544A). Our dialogue could accordingly be anti-Cyrenaic, but I would not suppose it has so specific a target.

κα[ι] ἡδη. It looks as if the iota was cannibalized to become the left hasta of the first eta; and this eta seems to have been crossed out at least in part, so that καὶ δη is perhaps the text intended. The supralineation apparently offers καὶ μάλλον, as a *v.l.*? Not μύρον or μέθην.

κύβ[ου]. For this application cf. Lys. 16. 11 τῶν νεωτέρων ὅσοι περὶ κύβου ἢ πότους ἢ {περὶ} τὰς τοιαύτας ἀκολασίας τυγχάνουσι τὰς διατριβὰς ποιούμενοι, and very similar phrases (Lysias-derived?) in Theopompus *ap. Ath.* 12. 527A, 532D (*FGrHist* 115 F 49, 249).

13-14 Fr. (c) ii may provide the beginnings of these two lines. Fr. (c) ii 1 looks more like τ than π, with the upper bar extending well to the left of the one remaining hasta, but π is probably acceptable.

fr. (a) iv 1 There is no room for anything lengthier than ῥώμης τῆς λ[ε]γ[ο]μένης, which itself seems a bit on the long side. Dr Rea suggests λ[ε]γο[μένης] 'so-called' (contemptuous).

3-5 The restoration should perhaps not be regarded as certain. For the string without connectives cf. δόξα ῥώμη κάλλος at fr. (d) i 2.

8 Εὐρι]πιδ[- unverifiable.

fr. (d) ii. Euripides fr. 282 N<sup>2</sup>, variously represented in a number of sources, principally Ath. 10. 413 c (in full) and Gal. i 23–5 Kühn (piecemeal extracts), mutually independent. The starting-point of the quotation in the papyrus was probably *κακῶν*, fr. 282 *imit.* Given its context in the dialogue it must have continued at least as far as v. 9, and probably beyond. The marginal diplae, which were added by the second hand, mark the quotation, cf. e.g. III 405.

5–6 *πρώτον οἰκεῖν* with Galen: *πρώτα μὲν ζῆν* Ath. Galen also presents *οὐδέ . . . ὄταν* for *οὔτε . . . οὔτε* (but this post-Galenic corruption?).

fr. (e)

] . *διαφε* [

] . . . . . [

. . . . .

1 ] ., loop on the line as of ε

2 Letter tops, perhaps *ιλαβρον* [, above λ a tiny dot, casual?

### 3700. MIME

Plate II

21 3B.29/D(13-14)b

8 × 18 cm

First century

The right-hand part of a single column, full height preserved, written in an informal hand similar to PSI X 1176 (Norsa, *Scrirt. lett.*, tav. 11), which has a *terminus ante* of AD 59–60; cf. BGU III 1002 (55 BC), P. Mert. I 12 (AD 58). 3700 is given a reasonably secure *terminus ante* by the writing on the back: several sets of documentary phrases, doodling or draft, among them a date clause of AD 48–9. A transcription is offered below, after the commentary on the mime. The writing on the back is less well controlled than that on the front, but seems to be by the same hand. 3700 may thus be dated fairly firmly towards the middle of the first century.

The text is clearly dramatic, or at least quasi-dramatic, and equally clearly does not belong to any of the classic genres. It is metrical in part: some of the lines, so far as can be seen, impeccable iambic trimeters (unless trochaic tetrameters, cf. III 413, the Charition mime, 98–106), others apparently prose, but with a discernible tendency to iambic rhythm. If there is any correlation between the use of metre and the distribution of parts I cannot trace it. It is possible that the first two lines, which are at column-top, in fact give us the piece's opening: a high-flown pair of verses referring to Heracles in servitude to Omphale. Action and dialogue follow.

In ll. 5 and 7 we apparently have a *nota personae*: *ετέρ'* clear in 7, presumably *ἔτερο(ς)* or *ἑτέρ(α)* (a variant of the 'algebraic' system, *Ā B̄* etc.?) but conceivably for *ἑταίρ(α)* or *ἑταίρ(ο)*. Change of speaker within the line is apparently indicated not by double point but by a pair of short strokes curving towards each other at the centre (represented = in the transcript). The same sign occurs in the Charition mime, but not with this function.

The action cannot be reconstructed with any certainty. It appears that *A* is paid a



visit (3-4) by *B*, *A*'s 'once glorious friend' (8), but *B* is not recognized (5-6?) and not welcomed (9-12?); he asks for a goodbye kiss (13), which is given (14?), but still protests his rejection (15-16?); his poverty is adduced by *A* (19, in an address to the audience?) with reference to the kiss, and by *B* himself (22). But this leaves much obscure, and it is not certain that there are only two parties to the dialogue. If Heracles is one of the characters, he may be the visitor rather than (as in *Ar. Ra.*) the householder: unrecognized in his present guise, acknowledging his degradation in referring to his erstwhile glory, wanting a kiss in his 'drag' character. But this is far from compelling; it does not account for the harking on poverty in 19 and 22, and leaves difficulty with the *nola personae*. The reference to Heracles may be no more than an allusion, as at *Ter. Eun.* 1027f. or *Ach. Tat.* 2. 6.

The text appears to be more in the nature of a fair copy than a draft, but this may well be a contemporary and local composition. Its apparent corruptions may be merely phonetic.

On the mime in Egypt see G. Manteuffel, *De opusculis graecis Aegypti e papyris ostracis lapidibusque collectis*, ch. 3, A. Świderek, *Eos* 47 (1954) 63-74. Material is collected and discussed in H. Wiemken, *Der griechische Mimus* (1972).

I am greatly indebted to Mr Parsons and Dr Rea for help with the interpretation of this text.

	] . σηρακλεανικηφορον [	] . c 'Ηρακλέα νικηφόρον
	]ομφαληςθηλυνλατριν [	] 'Ομφάλης θήλυν λάτριν
	]τηνθυραν [	]την θύραν.
	]δαιδαφαινετιναβλεπω [	] δαίδα φαίνε. τίνα βλέπω;
5	]ετε. ουκοιδασημα. . ερ[	] ΕΤΕ. (). οὐκ οἶδασημα. . ερ[
	]υθειλει = καταμαθακρ. [	]υ θέλει. — κατάμαθ' ακρ. [
	]με = ετερ αγνω [	]με. — ΕΤΕΡ(). ἀγνοῶ.
	]σοποτε[. ]λαμπροσουφιλ[	]c ὄ ποτε λαμπρός σου φίλ[oc
	] . ηταιθυραικοθενπαρει[	] . ηταις θύραις ὅθεν παρει[
10	]εχωμη. αβηκυβρινταλ. [	]εχω μὴ λάβης ὕβριν ταλα[
	]παλινοπουμοι. . [ . ]εις. ιδο. [	]παλιν ὅπου μοι. . [ . ]εις εἶδου[
	]ακουσονμοιειναμηφανησ [	]ἀκουσόν μοι εἶνα μὴ φανῆσ

1 ] . , on the edge, speck at letter-top level, η, υ? 3 ]τ, or γ 5 ετε. , cursive, ετεc?, followed by supralineation (χ?), different from 7 . . . , cετ perhaps possible, though cramped 6 . [ , medial trace on edge suggesting α, ε? 7 ετε<sup>p</sup> cursive 9 ] . , tip of stroke coming in to η near top 10 χ, or λ? . , lower left trace suitable for λ . [ , low speck 11 . . [ , rising oblique as of λ, μ, ν, π, τ, χ, speck on the line After c, perhaps lower part of ε, but anomalously flat . [ , foot of curving upright bent to right, υ?

	. ομοφιλημακα[ ] . χειανε [	]δός μοι φίλημα κα[ι] ὑχέαινε
	]νεκποδων = ιδου [	]ν ἐκποδών. — ιδού. ὕ.
15	. συμπαθημητιμοιλεγεις [	]ασυπαθη μή τί μοι λέγεις;
	]εληθηςοταναπελθω [	]εληθης ὅταν ἀπέλθω
	. λευσαι [	]υλεύσαι.
	. ανδρεσιδαμοστωνδυο [	] . ἄνδρες, ἰδαμὸς τῶν δύο
	]σπτωχοςωνφειλεινθελει [	]ς πτωχὸς ὢν φειλεῖν θέλει
20	]τησοιπεροιδασπροσμενυν [	]της οἵπερ οἶδας πρὸς με νῦν
	. ρμοιπολλαπροσταυατιλέ <sup>γξ</sup> [	] . ρ μοι πολλὰ πρὸς ταῦτα τί λέγεις[
	. ινοσεστινεγωδιμιπενης [	] . ινος ἐστίν, ἐγὼ δ' ἰμὶ πένης
	. ισπαραταπανημαουμηζ. [	]κς παραταπανημα ου μὴ ζ. [
	]τευεαλλαδουλευσζωκεειν[	]τευε, ἀλλὰ δουλεύσζω ἐκειν[

13 ], suggestion of trace at lower left of ο 14 = written over washed-out ink 15 ], back of  
 α suggested 17 ], κ or υ 18 ], washed-out δ, ζ? 19 ιλ corr. from ρν? 21 ], η or  
 υ 22 ], tip of mid-line stroke, ε? 23 ], upper extremity of κ? . [ , tall upright, η or ι  
 24 ξ, or θ

12 l. ἴνα

13 l. ὑγίανε

18 l. ἰταμὸς

19 l. φιλεῖν

22 l. εἰμί

1-2 Elevated, perhaps mock-tragic, conceivably borrowed from a comic or satyric source; νικηφόρον pointedly ironic, θῆλον probably implying transvestism (cf. e.g. *On. Fast.* 2. 303-58, *Luc. Hist. Conscr.* 10). We expect a besotted lover willing or eager to abase himself, and perhaps an imperious female. We find δουλεύω ἐκεῖν[η(?) at 24 and ?δο]υλεύσαι at 17, but little else that conforms without forcing.

3f. 3 spoken by either the visitor (e.g. κόψωμεν] τὴν θύραν) or the householder (e.g. τίς ἐστ' ὁ κόψας] τ. θ.); 4 by the householder, perhaps disturbed from sleep.

5 The form of the *nota personae*, if such it be, is virtually identical with that in 7 as far as ετε, but is ended differently. It seems most natural to suppose that the reference is the same; the alternative is that the termination differentiates, like Tweedledum and Tweedledee.

οὐκ οἶδά σ' would match 7 ἀγνοῶ, but οὐκ οἶδας ἡμᾶς; (for οἶδας cf. 20) is tempting: the visitor is not recognized (whether sincerely or affectedly), and has to identify himself (8). If this is right, and the preceding ετε. () is rightly taken as a *nota personae*, the visitor can hardly be Heracles (unless we take the *nota* as designating the second actor); if Heracles is the householder, who is his 'once glorious friend'? ἡμᾶς indicating more than one visitor, or paratragic? If ἡμᾶς, perhaps ἔτερ[ follows, though there is little room for σε and τ is small and anomalous; if ἔτερ[, apparently text rather than *nota*.

6 ο]ὑ θέλει? ἐλεῖ, c.g. το]ῦθ' ἐλεῖ, not formally excluded.

ακρ. [. Perhaps ἀκρε[ιβῶς, -βέστερον, l. ἀκρι-

9 -η (2 med.-pass.) ταῖς θύραις ὄθεν πάρει?

10 Something on the lines of 'Go back where you come from, λ]έγω, lest you get a beating, τάλα[ν? ]εγω may rather be ]ελω, θ]έλω?

11 μοιχε[ύ]εις, μοι λῆ[γ]εις are among the possibilities. What follows looks anomalous: rather than εἰδού l. ἰδού, perhaps ἰδού preceded by speaker-change sign; or something else altogether.

12 ὑπ]ἀκουσόν μοι?

μοι εἶνα: hiatus similarly in 13 and 24, cf. II 219. εἰ for short ι, again 13 ὑχέαινε, 19 φειλεῖν.

13 'Give me a kiss and goodbye.' The temptation to add μοι at the end for the sake of the rhythm should probably be resisted, cf. 16, 17.

- 14 ὤ. Cf. οἷ. Otherwise ὤ. 'Ugh!?' 'Wow!?'  
 15 '(?How can you show yourself so) heartless (ἀκυμπαθῆ)? Won't you say something to me?'  
 17 δο]υλεύσαι, cf. 24, or βο]υλεύσαι?  
 18 ἄνδρες: to the audience?  
 τῶν δύο (unless τ' ὦν): cf. 22 (where e.g. πλούσιος ἐκ]ξίνος)?  
 21 λέγε (τί; λέγε), λέγει[ις, etc.  
 22 Cf. on 18 above. The speaker is presumably the πτωχός of 19, who in turn is presumably the speaker of 13: the visitor.  
 23 πολλά]κις παρὰ ταπάνημα l. δαπάνημα? For δ/τ confusion cf. 18 ἰδαμός (if rightly recognized). Or \*παραδαπάνημα, a side expense?

Back. Upside-down in relation to the mime-text, variously spaced, is:

ἔτου]ς ἐνάτου Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Κ[αίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ  
 ?αὐ]τοκ [   
 π]ροκεχειρισμένω ὑπὸ Δωρίωνος [   
 πρ]οκεχειρισμένω [   
 5 ]ς Θέωνος Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγ[ονῆς   
 ] . . . . [   
 Θέ]ωνος Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ἐν ἀγυειᾷ [   
 ἀργυρίου Σεβαστο]ῦ καὶ Πτολεμαϊκοῦ νομ[ίς]ματος [   
 ] ἔτους ἐνάτου Τιβερίου Κλαυδ[ίου   
 10 ] Καίσαρος Σεβαστ[οῦ Γ]ερμανικοῦ. [   
 ἔτους ἐνάτου] Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρ[ο]ς [   
 Σεβαστοῦ Γερμ]ανικοῦ. [

3, 4 l. προκεχειρισμένω 7 l. ἀγυειᾷ

The same way up as the mime text, in addition to some fainter remains at the left, is:

13 Παμμένους Παραδίσου [?ἔτους ἐνάτου Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου  
 Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμ[ανικοῦ  
 15 . [.]απῆ

13 l. Παραδείσου

13 This is the earliest mention of the amphodon Pammenes' Garden.

## 3701. MATERIA MEDICA

20 3B.34/H(7-8)b

10 × 18.5 cm

First century

A collection of pharmacological extracts, congeneric with Dioscorides' *De materia medica*. The fragment has remains of two columns, written in a documentary hand belonging perhaps to the latter half of the first century; the back is blank. Materials listed are animal and mineral as well as vegetable; properties (*δυνάμεις*) and method of preparation (*σκευασία*) are given. The principles of arrangement are not clear: perhaps partly by material, partly by function; not alphabetical. Once an authority is cited: Apollodorus, with reference to *μελάνθιον* (i 23).

A work such as this, however derivative, will have laid claim to discrete identity, i.e. will have had an author. It is not Dioscorides, though there is a certain amount in common. An Asclepiad of some repute who might be thought of was Sextius Niger, one of Dioscorides' immediate predecessors (Dsc. *praef.* 2 [i 1. 16 Wellmann] = Niger test. 2 Wellmann [*Dioscoridis de mat. med. libri quinque* iii 146-8]) who was read and admired by Galen (*Simpl.* vi prohoem. [xi 794 Kühn] = Niger test. 4 Wellmann). The papyrus text has various points of contact with both Dioscorides' *De materia medica* and Pliny's *Natural History*, and cases of congruence between those two works are held to indicate derivation from Niger (Wellmann, *Hermes* 24 (1889), 530-69, cf. *ibid.* 59 (1924), 130). Cf. P. Ross. Georg. I 19. But there is little real correspondence, and a discrepancy of nomenclature: *λευκογραφίς* pap. (ii 10), *λίθος μόροχθος* Dioscorides and Pliny. Besides, pharmacologica tend to have complex interrelations, and such compilations were put out by many. (On attribution, moreover, Gal. *Libr. Propr.* makes instructive reading.) PSI s.n. (Pack<sup>2</sup> 2388, iii AD) consists of entries abridged in relation to Dioscorides but each assigned to an authority (see Marie-Hélène Marganne, *Inventaire analytique des papyrus grecs de médecine* (Geneva 1981), no. 157); the case of P. Ant. III 123 (vi AD) is comparable.

Medical papyri have recently been catalogued by Marganne, *op. cit.* A noteworthy new accession is H. Harrauer and P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Medizinische Rezepte und Verwandtes* (Vienna 1981); and Dr John Scarborough, to whom I am greatly indebted for extensive comments on this text, draws attention to the wealth of pharmacological material in the magical papyri, omitted by Marganne.

No punctuation, except paragraphus between entries. The scribe corrected some copying errors *calamo currente*.

	col. i		col. ii	
	]ορξ . . . υρσσω		του τρείβειν ἔω[ς	
	]τα χρη[σι]μεύει		εἶτ' ἐν ἡλίω ξηρ[α	
	κατ]απλάσματα καὶ		πάλιν καὶ χρώ . [	
	] . νυμξ . και		μικῶν . [	
5	] . . . ας μετὰ μη-		γῆς Σαμίας τῆς [	
	]σα καὶ καταπλα-		μις τὴν δύναμι[ν	σκευ-
	χρησιμ]εύει δὲ καὶ τοῖς		ασίαν ἔχει παραπ[λησίαν	τῆι
	π]οτιζομένη		'Ερετριά[ι]δι καὶ . [	
	]μη ἐνιεμένη		ρα καὶ χρησιμῶ[τέρα	
10	] . . . ιγχοις με-		λευκογραφίς δύ[ναμιν ἔχει	μα-
	] καὶ κεφαλαγοῦσι		λάσσει καὶ πληρ[οῖ κοιλώματα	
	] . γὰρ ποιεῖ μεγάλα		ματα μετὰ στύψ[εως	
	]ν φλεγματώδη		σταλαγμὸς ἄνθου[ς	
	]ώδη· πλείω δὲ πεινο-		τὰ αὐτὰ τῶι ἄνθ[ε]ι	
15	ώ]δη καὶ ὕφαιμα		πολλῶι ἐνεργεστ[ερ-	
	] μέλανα. (vac.)		κυκῆς κλάδη δύν[αμιν ἔχει	
	] . πικ ὑδατώδη (vac.)		ἀποκαθαίρει με[τὰ	
	]του ρίζα φλεγματώδη ἀν` ω`		σίας καὶ στύψεως [	σκευάζε-
	κ]αὶ χολώδη μετὰ κνη-		ται δὲ οὕτως· λαβ. [	
20	]χαλκοῦ ἄνθος φλεγμα-		κράδας τὰς παραφυ[	
	] . καὶ χολώδη ἀμφοτε-		τάτας καὶ ἐλαφρῶ[τάτας	κα-
	ξ]λαιον μέλι χολώδη (vac.)		τακαύσας τρεῖβε ὑ[	
	]ν Ἀπολλοδώρου μελάνθι `ο` (ν)		χέων καὶ παραπάσσ[ων	
	] . ἔχει ἄγοςμα καὶ ἀ-		τὸ βέλτιστον ἔως [	
25	] ἐπισκοποῦντα		σποδοειδὲς καὶ α . [	πλε-
	] διαχει τὰ πη-		ονάκις ἀναπλάσας . [	
	]αἰθρων θερ-		χολή[ς} σκορπίου θα[λασσίου	
	]εται δὲ καθα-		δύναμι[[ς]ν ἔχει απ[	
	] . ι . (vac.)		ρει τὰς τε ἀχλύς καὶ [	ἀκα-
30	]ρ . . νγα[ . . ] .		θαρκίας καὶ τὰς οὐλ[ὰς	
	]ς		σαρκώδη καὶ τολ[	
	] .		ἔκκρισιν ποιεῖτα[ι	



ξ[λαφροτέ]ρα καὶ χρησιμ[τέρα ἐστίν, reasonably consistent line-lengths result, but it may be suspected that the lines were longer.

10-13 *λευκογραφίς*: another clay, which for Dioscorides goes under the name of λίθος μόροχθος, 5. 134, ὄν ἐνοι γαλαξίαν ἢ λευκογραφίδα ἐκάλεσαν; cf. Plin. *NH* 27. 103. Rather than παρεμπ]λάσσει (Dsc. δοκεῖ δὲ παρεμπλάσσειν), syllabification suggests μα]λλάσσει, cf. Dsc. εἷς τε τὰ μαλακὰ ὀφθαλμικὰ μείγνυται. Dioscorides continues πληροὶ γὰρ κοιλώματα καὶ βεύματα ἴστησι, which suggests something like καὶ στέλλει βεύ]ματα in the papyrus. Similar properties are listed by Dioscorides for e.g. washed lead, 5. 81. 3 (δύναται δὲ στύφειν, . . . μαλάττειν, πληροῦν τὰ κοιλώματα, . . .), and litharge, 5. 87. 2 (δύναμιν δὲ στυπτικὴν, μαλακτικὴν, . . . κοιλωμάτων πληρωτικὴν).

On *λευκογραφίς* Dr Scarborough writes as follows:

I think this may be a form of a talc or perhaps a soapstone, given Dioscorides' first synonym (*galaxia*, lit. milk-stone, prob. from the custom of eating a boiled milk and hulled wheat mixture [a frumenty] at the Athenian celebration of Cybele [Theophrastus, *Characters*, 21. 11, and Hesychius s.v.]). If my guess is right, this 'milk-stone' is a form of an acid metasilicate of magnesium, called variously talc, soapstone, steatite, 'Tailor's chalk' (in England), and 'Rensselaerite' (USA, from deposits in upstate New York). A generalized formula would be  $H_2Mg_3(SiO_4)_4$ . The various names in antiquity suggest its variations in color, from white to pearly-gray, or from silver-white to apple-green and sometimes dark green, but the distinctive feature in the gross, empirical manner is the 'greasy feel' of the mineral. I find no other refs. in Greek except here in the papyrus and in Dioscorides, v, 134. Not in Goltz or Halleux. *PGM*, III, 511 has a *magnētis lithos* which is possibly a soapstone (Theophrastus, *On Stones*, 41), but is more probably a magnetite (Dioscorides, v, 126 and 130); but since *PGM*, IV, 1721, says to carve the *magnētis lithos*, one can presume a talc or soapstone; *PGM*, XII, 410 has *kēritē*, most likely a soapstone or steatite (Pliny, *NH*, 37. 153; Theophrastus, *Stones*, 42). I think we may presume *kēritē* = *leukographis* = *galaxia* = *lithos morochthos* and sometimes = *magnētis lithos*.

13-15 No paragraphus, so apparently part of the *λευκογραφίς* entry, but I suspect that *σταλαγμός ἄνθους* is in fact a new entry, to the effect that 'drippings' of flower of copper (13) have the same uses or properties as flower of copper in normal form (14), only the former is much stronger (15, -ερος). Presumably this is the form of χαλκανθέε elsewhere attested as *σταλακτόν* (Dsc. 5. 98, so called by Cyprian mine-workers) or *stalagmias* (Plin. *NH* 34. 124); Dioscorides and Pliny describe the manner of production, and Pliny (cf. Dsc. 5. 98. 3) says there is no purer form.

16-26 *συκῆς κλάδη* I. *κράδη*. For lack of phonemic distinction between ρ and λ see Gignac *Grammar* i 102-7, and cf. e.g. *ἐπικρατέ* I. *ἐπικρατέ* SB 5110 ii 34 (AD 42); contamination with *κλάδος* may also be a factor here, cf. κ]ράδη corr. from -ος at P. Ross. Georg. I 19. 58; *κράδας* correctly at 20. For pharmacological application of fig, and specifically the young shoots, cf. P. Ross. Georg. I 19 (Marganne, no. 146) 58-60, Dsc. 1. 128. 4-5, Plin. *NH* 23. 118-29, and see further Marganne, p. 265 n. 2. P. Ross. Georg.'s entry is also *συκῆς κ]ράδη* (κ]ραδη[ε]), and it shows further correspondence with our papyrus' entry, continuing *δύναμιν ἔχει ἢ πό[α μαλάσσει]ω* (rather *καθαίρει]ω*?) *μετὰ στυψ[εως] καὶ θερ[μάνσεως]* (or *θερ[μασίας*?)· *σκενάζεται δὲ ὄψως*; there broken off. The only use specified by Dioscorides for fig-shoots is in culinary preparation. Pliny, however, reports a variety of uses; and he prescribes the ash of dark-fig leaves for gangrenes and excrescences (*NH* 23. 119), and the ash of wild-fig shoots for soothing a sore uvula (*NH* 23. 129). 16 *δύναμιν ἔχει ἀποκαθαριστικὴν*? Cf. 28 below. 17-18 *θερμα]σίας?* 19 *λαβῶ]ν* rather than *λαβέ*, 20 *κράδας τὰς παραφυ]άδας* or *παραφυ]ομένας*, 20-1 perhaps *τὰς ἀπαλω]τάτας καὶ ἐλαφρῶ]τάτας*, 22-3 *ἔ]δωρ . . . (προσέπι)]χέων καὶ παραπάσ]ων*. 25-6 e.g. *τρὶς τῆς ἡμέρας ἢ καὶ πλε]ονάκις, ἀναπλάσσει χ]ρῶ*.

27 ff. Bile (gall, Lat. *fel*). Cf. esp. Dsc. 2. 78, a section on various uses, largely ophthalmic, of the bile of various creatures: first the method of preparation (which in the papyrus may have followed, cf. ii 1-4, 19-26), then: *εἰς δὲ πᾶσαι αἱ χολαὶ δριμύται, θερμαντικαί, τῷ μᾶλλον τε καὶ ἥττον κατὰ δύναμιν ἀλλήλων διαφέρουσαι. δοκοῦσι δὲ ἐπιτεταῖσαι ἢ τε τοῦ θαλασσίου σκορπίου (cf. 27) καὶ ἰχθύος τοῦ λεγομένου καλλιωνύμου (cf. 33), χελώνης τε θαλασσίας (cf. 34) καὶ ὑαίνης, ἔτι δὲ πέρδικος (cf. 37) καὶ ἀετοῦ καὶ ἀλεκτορίδος λευκῆς καὶ αἰγὸς ἀγρίας (cf. 36), ἰδίως ἀρμόζουσα πρὸς ἀρχομένας ὑποχύσει καὶ ἀχλὺς (cf. 29), ἄργεμά τε καὶ τραχέα βλέφαρα. τῆς δὲ τοῦ προβάτου καὶ τοῦ τράγου (cf. 36) καὶ τοῦ σὺός ἐτι δὲ ἀρκου ἐμπρακτικωτάτη ἐστίν ἢ ταυρεία. κτλ.* This is largely incorporated, with some modification, in Galen's chapter on bile *qua* 'humour', *Simpl.* 10. 13 (xii 275-81 Kühn), whence in turn Aetius 2. 106 (*CMG* viii 1. 190f.) and Paul. Aeg. 7. 3 (*CMG* ix 2. 272f., cf. F. Adams ad loc.). Various uses of various creatures' gall included in Plin. *NH* 28. 216-18, but I find no particular point of contact with the

papyrus; cf. Plin. *NH* 28. 40. On the *σκορπίος* and the *καλλιώνυμος* (33), today more familiar as ingredients of bouillabaisse than as sources of eye ointment, see D'Arcy W. Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Fishes*, s.vv. 27 *χολη*{*ς*} presumably dittographic error, but cf. ii 5 above. 28 *ἀπ[οκαθαρτικὴν]* rather than *ἀπ[λὴν]*? 32-4 e.g. *ὀμοίως* | *δὲ καὶ ἡ τοῦ καλλιωνύμου καὶ ἡ τῆς χελώνης θαλασσίας [καὶ ναίνης]*. For the *καλλιώνυμος*, cf. not only Dsc. loc. cit. but also Plin. *NH* 32. 69 *callionymi fel cicatrices* (cf. *οὐλλ[ός]* 30) *sanat et carnes* (cf. *σαρκώδη* 31) *oculorum supervacuus consumit*. Pliny also reports (*NH* 32. 77) that callionymus bile infused with rose-oil is good for the ears (cf. Dsc. 2. 78. 4 on pig-bile), but the papyrus appears not to mention that. 35 *πρ[ι]*: either *προβάτου*, -*τεία*, or *πρ[ι]ός* e.g. *θύμια*, see below. 36 *ἡ τ[ε]ραγεία* or *ἡ δὲ τ[ε]ραγεία*. Goat-bile has special properties: it lifts warts (Dsc. loc. cit. *θύμιά τε αἶρει*, Ruf. 533 [cit. ap. Dsc. loc. cit. Wellmann] *dixerunt Ruffus et Dyascorides: fel hircinum tollit verrucas*) and controls 'elephantiasis', i.e. leprosy (Dsc. loc. cit., Plin. *NH* 28. 186); cf. Plin. *NH* 51. 189 *℞* 'Dsc.' *Eup.* i. 88. Cf. Gazza, *Aeg.* 36 (1956) 109.

## 3702. MYTHOLOGICAL COMPENDIUM

Plate V

32 4B.2/B(1-3)a

fr. 1 12 × 17 cm

Second-third century

Remnants of a jejune mythographical text of miscellaneous content, written on the back of a roll of accounts in an irregular and ungainly plain round and upright hand which may be assigned to the latter part of the second century or the earlier part of the third. Fr. 1, in two columns, has remains of three items: a list of the Greek leaders on the expedition against Troy; the suitors of Penelope; and the story of the Danaids. On fr. 2 may be recognized a list of the Argonauts. The text was originally of some length: fr. 1 ii is numbered *ρκβ*, 122. It appears to have been strongly catalogic in nature, the more so if the Danaid story is leading up to a list of the Danaid-Aegyptid bridal couples; and the presentation is exceedingly bald and summary, quite devoid of literary pretension.

Clearly we have to do with a mythological handbook of the same type as Hyginus' *Fabulae*—though I would not posit any closer connection between the two works. Other remnants of the same sort of thing are P. Stras. WG 332,<sup>1</sup> P. Med. inv. 123,<sup>2</sup> and perhaps P. Vindob. gr. inv. 26727 (*CE* 49 (1974) 317-24). Cf. in particular P. Haun. I 7, which has remains of a catalogue of ships.<sup>3</sup>

The list of Greeks against Troy is basically that of the Homeric Catalogue; attention focuses on the divergencies. As one of the four leaders from Elis is named not Dioces son of Amarynceus but Amarynceus himself (1. 2). Alongside Menestheus, the Athenian leader of the Catalogue, we find the Theseid Acamas (1. 8). A tail-piece to the list

<sup>1</sup> Ed. J. Schwartz in *Studi in onore di A. Calderini e R. Paribeni*, ii 151-6. It has remains of three items, at least two of them lists: Muses and offspring (i 1-7), victors at Pelias' funeral games (i 8-iii 5), ?Europa story (iii 6 ff.; in 8 *Ῥα]δαμανθ[-* may be suggested). Schwartz sees a direct relation with Hyginus' Greek source, on the strength of certain similarities between the two Pelias' Games accounts, but discrepancies of context as well as of detail make for doubt.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. S. Daris in *Proc. XII Intern. Congr. Pap.* (Toronto 1970) 97-102. Remains of two catalogues: Actaeon's hounds (m. and f. listed separately, cf. *Hyg. fab.* 81. 3-6), and unnatural mythological phenomena.

<sup>3</sup> This rather odd text has embedded in it a couple of apparently poetic forms: *τοὶ Ἀ[εκληπι]άδαι* ii 3-4, *Φηράθε* ii 8 (perhaps also *[νῆ]ας* ii 4-5, but that also appears in late prose). *Φηράθε*, instead of the expected *ἐκ Φερῶν*, is especially remarkable (the *eta* in the first syllable, as the editor points out, is matched only at *Il.* 2. 763, *Φηρητιάδο*), and the Doric form would seem to point to a lyric source. Perhaps Stesichorus?



includes a Boeotian, probably Thersander (1. 25), and also Aegialeus son of Adrastus (1. 28). Of less moment are the addition of Calchas and of Patroclus, and various cases of omission or sequential disruption.

Similar lists are to be found in Hyg. *fab.* 97 (*qui ad Troiam expugnatum ierunt et quot naves*), in Apollod., *epit.* 3. 11-14, in the Latin Dictys Cretensis 1. 17, and in the Latin Dares 14. (Cf. Wagener, *Philol.* 38 (1879) 99-105, Schissel von Fleschenberg, *Daresstudien* 96-115.) These all include ship-numbers, which the papyrus does not. The catalogue offered by the papyrus has no close affinity with any of them, though there are scattered agreements in particulars, notably one with Hyginus over Amarynceus. The inclusion of Acamas, on which see at fr. 1. 8f., is a point in common with the lyric catalogue embedded in E. *IA* 231-302; cf. on the possibility of Eurytus at fr. 1. 2.<sup>1</sup> Apollodorus of Athens, *On the Catalogue of Ships* lies far behind; Hellanicus, Damastes, and Aristotle's *Peplos*, further still.

An unexpected element is the incorporation of personal address in the Danaid story, *προεκήρυγμαί σοι* fr. 1. 37f. Is this *tibi lector*, or does it point to an actual dedicatee? The manuscript could in fact be an autograph. Only with such derivative material as this one can scarcely speak of authorship.

<sup>1</sup> T. W. Allen (*CR* 15 (1901), 346-50, cf. id., *Homeric Catalogue* 23-5), asserting that Euripides 'can have used no other' catalogue than the Homeric, suggests that the *IA* divergencies, the substitution of Theseid for Menestheus among them, come from the Euripidean edition of the Homeric text. This seems most implausible. Why cannot an *Iliu Persis* have been the source, if prior authority there must be?

fr. 1	col. i	
	] . ςκ . [ . ] . . ϑ .	Ἀμφίμαχος Κτ[ε]άτου,
	]αρ . γκευς	Ἄμ]αρυγκεύς
	]αϑθενους·	Πολύξενος Ἄγ]αθθένους,
	] . ος·μεγης	ἐξ Ἡλι]δος· Μέγης
5	]ειδομε	Φυλέως ἐκ Δουλιχίου·] Εἰδομε-
	]μηριονη .	νεύς Δευκαλίωνος καὶ] Μηριόνης
	]ρεσθευς	Μόλου ἐκ Κρήτης· Με]ρεσθεύς
	]ρακαμας	Πετew ἐξ Ἀθηνῶ]ν· Ἀκάμας
	]τληπο	Θησέως ] Τληπό-
10	]δουνει	λεμος Ἡρακλέους ἐκ Ῥό]δου· Νει-
	]ης·αντι	ρεύς Χαρόπου ἐκ Σύμ]ης· Ἄντι-
	]αλου·εκ	φος καὶ Φεῖδιππος Θεσσ]αλοῦ ἐκ
	]ς·εκφερῶ	]ς ἐκ Φερῶ(ν)·
	]εξαριστε	] ἐξ Ἄριστε†
15	]ων	]ων
	] . ιλ . κτη	] Φιλοκτή-
	] . οιας·	της Ποίαντος ἐκ Μελι]βοίας·
	]σεκγυρ	]ς ἐκ Γυρ-
	]ρωνου	τώνης· Λεοντεύς Κο]ρώνου
20	]τενθρη	Πρόθοος] Τενθρη-
	] . ὄς·χεδῖος	δόνος ἐκ Μαγνησία]ς· Ὀχεδῖος
	]ρουεκφω	καὶ Ἐπίστροφος Εἰφίτ]ου ἐκ Φω-
	]ριτιου	κίδος· Πάτροκλος Μεν]οιτίου
	]ςθεστορος·	]ς Θέστορος
25	]νεκθηβῶ	]ν ἐκ Θηβῶ(ν)·
	]μουεκβοι	]μου ἐκ Βοι-

8 Perhaps ]ν·

10 Perhaps ]δου·

col. ii

ρκβ

ωτίας· Ασκάλαφος καὶ Ἰάλμ[ε-  
 νος Ἄρεως ἐκ †Μινύρου· † Αἰγ[ια-  
 λεὺς Ἀδράστου ἐξ Ἄργους. [   
 30 <sup>^</sup> Πηνελόπης μνηστῆρες [τῆς  
 Εὐκαρίου·  $\bar{\iota}\beta$  καὶ Μέδων ὁ κῆ[ρυξ  
 κ[αῖ] Φήμιος ᾠδός· ἐγ δὲ Ζά[μης  
 [κδ·] ἐκ Δουλιχίου  $\bar{\nu}\beta$ · ξ[κ Ζακύ(ν)-  
 θ]οῦ κ̄. Δαναοῦ θυγατ[έρες(?)  
 35 †κα, των† Αἰγύπτου παίδω[ν ἐ-  
 κάστη ἀπέκτεινεν· κ[αῖ] διὰ γ. [   
 αἰτίαν τοῦτο ἐπράκθη προεκ[-  
 θήσομαί σοι. Αἰγύπτος γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς  
 ὁμονύμου χώρας βασιλεὺς γεν[η-  
 40 θεὺς προσέτασσε Δαναῶι δ[οῦναι  
 πρὸς γάμον τοῖς [[Αι]] α[ὐτοῦ παιεὶ τὰς  
 Δαναΐδας· μὴ βουλόμ[ενος δὲ τοῦτο  
 πρᾶξαι Δαναὸς ἔφυ[γε μετὰ τῶν  
 θ[υγ]ατέρων εἰς τὴν ν[η-  
 45 νη[. ΙΙ]ελοπόννησον [   
 βασιλείαν . . εἰ βραχὺ[ν  
 κας χρόνον κατε[. [   
 παραγενηθέντ. . . [   
 καὶ βία ταῖς Δαν[α]ῖς[ι

27 ας· prob. ἰαλ̄ 28 ρου· 29 γους· 31 ἰκ, ε added by m. 1 ου· vac.  $\bar{\iota}\beta$   
 32 ᾠδος· l. ἐκ 33  $\bar{\nu}\beta$ · 34 κ̄ vac. 35 ., letter-top horizontal trace at right, speck at  
 foot 37 l. ἐπράκθη 39 l. ὁμωνύμου 41 προσ'γαμον 42 ναῖδ ac corr. from (or  
 to?) εε

fr. 2

Ἄρ]γους· Περι[κλύμενος  
 ], δου ἐκ Πύ[λου·  
 Ἄγκ]αῖος Ποσειδ[ῶνος ἐκ Κάμου· Ζήτης καὶ  
 Κάλ]αῖς Βορέου ἐ[κ Θράκης· Λυγκεὺς  
 5 καὶ] Εἰδας Ἀφ[αρέως ἼΗ-  
 ρακλ]ῆς Διὸς ἐξ [Ἄργους· Ἐργεῖνος  
 Κλυ]μέγου ἐξ Ὀ[ρχομενοῦ· Ἄδμη-  
 το]ς Φέρητος [ἐκ Θεσσαλίας· Εὐ-  
 ρυτ]ορ καὶ Ἐχ[ίων Ἐρμοῦ  
 10 Να]ύπλειος Π[οσειδῶνος ἐξ Ἄρ-  
 γου]ς· Ἰππάλκ[ιμος Πέλοπος ἐκ Πεί-  
 ρης]· Κάστωρ [καὶ Πολυδεύκης Διὸς κτλ.

The line-divisions are purely *exempli gratia* 1 γους· 2 first υ corrected 4 αῖς ου  
 5 ας 6 ης 8 ]ς prob. 11 ς

fr. 3

]. [  
 ]νοιδ[  
 ]ρ. μ[

fr. 1. 1-4. The Elean (Epeian) leaders. In accord with Homer (*Il.* 2. 620-4) would be Ἀμφίμαχος Κρέατος, Θάλαπιος Εὐρύτου, Διώρης Ἀμαρυνκέως, Πολύξενος Ἀγαθέωνος; but the papyrus apparently offers Amarynceus himself instead of his son Diores; and this is a divergency shared with Hyg. *fab.* 97. 11. No justification for the substitution is to be found in Homer (Diores' death, *Il.* 4. 517-26, Nestor's reminiscence of Amarynceus' funeral games, 23. 630 ff.): chronological difficulties in local tradition? But none is apparent from Paus. 5. 1. 10-11, 3. 3-4. As for Amarynceus' paternity: Hyginus' source had Ὀνησιμάχου, but that seems too long for the space here, and other candidates are Alector, given by Eust. 303. 10 (cf. Diod. 4. 69), and Pytius, given by Paus. 5. 1. 10.

The second leader, to be supplied in l. 2: Thalpius son of Eurytus, or Eurytus himself? For here too Hyginus diverges from the Homeric catalogue, if it may be agreed that *Eurychus Pallantis*, the reported reading of the Hyginus codex, implies not Euryalus, as Rose and earlier editors, but *Εὐρυτος* (Combella, *AJP* 69 (1948) 190-6; did the codex in fact have *Eurythus*?). Cf. the *Iphigenia* catalogue, which gives Eurytus as the (only) leader of the Epeians, *IA* 279-82. Again there is variation of reported paternity. Hyginus' Pallas, just like his Onesimachus, is otherwise unknown. Eustathius, who bases himself on the Homeric data of *Il.* 2. 621 ff. but seems to hint at the existence of other versions (303. 7, 18), names Eurytus' father as Actor, cf. Paus. 5. 3. 3. Tied up with this is the text of *Il.* 2. 621: Ἀκτορίωνος is the vulgate, but Aristarchus read Ἀκτορίωνε.

In view of all the above, the likeliest reconstruction of the papyrus is perhaps *Εὐρυτος Ἀκτορος*,

Ἄμ]αρρυκεὺς | [Ἀλέκτορος, κτλ.; the participant personnel in common with Hyginus (reading *Eurytus* for *Eurychus*), their paternities with Eustathius. But the source (or sources), like the rationale, is beyond recovery.

A further peculiarity of Hyginus' list, not shared by the papyrus, is that he assigns a different homeland to each of the four leaders; Hyginus is often idiosyncratic in this respect, and shows a fondness for Argos. Dictys and Dares, who name the Homeric four, and Apollodorus, who says merely *Ἀμφίμαχος καὶ οἱ ἐν αὐτῷ*, offer no trace of divergence from Homer here.

In 4, οἱ τέσσαρες *vel sim.*

4f. Meges: *Il.* 2. 625-30. Hyg. 97. 12, Apollod., Dictys; *E. IA* 283-7.

Between Meges and Idomeneus in the Homeric catalogue come entries for (1) Odysseus, and (2) Thoas. Odysseus may have been promoted to an earlier position in the papyrus' list, as is probably the case with Achilles too (see on 13 below); likewise in Hyginus (*Ulixes* 97. 4). What has happened to Thoas I cannot say, unless he was carried along with Odysseus; he succeeds Meges in Hyginus (97. 12), Meges and Odysseus in Apollodorus, and is in the right proximity in the lightly disrupted sequence offered by Dictys. The *Iphigenia* catalogue lists Meriones and Odysseus successively (*IA* 201-4), and has no Aetolian entry.

5-7 Idomeneus and Meriones: *Il.* 2. 645-52. Hyg. 97. 7, Apollod. (Idomeneus only), Dictys, Dares; *E. IA* 201f. (Meriones only).

7f. Menestheus of Athens: *Il.* 2. 546-56, out of sequence here, with no geographical or other justification. The other catalogues are more faithful to his Homeric position between Elephenor of Euboea and Salaminian Ajax (Hyg. 97. 11, succeeding Elephenor but with Ajax shifted towards the head of the list [read *Menestheus Petei et Meliboeae filius?*]; Apollod., Homeric sequence; Dictys, Elephenor and Menestheus transposed), except that Dares has him at the very end of the list (9. 6 Meister). As for Ajax, there is no telling whether he had an earlier entry or has been displaced by Acamas, see next.

8f. Acamas: a rank intruder. No Theseid has any place in either of the Homeric epics (Schol. *S. Phil.* 562), nor—perhaps surprisingly, in view of the early and widespread tradition of their participation, from the *Iliu Persis* on—is either Acamas or Demophon named in any of the other extant catalogues, except as the final entry in Dictys' catalogue of those present at the assembly at Argos two years before the gathering at Aulis (Dict. 1. 14, *postremi omnium*). But it is δ *Θησέως παῖς*, and not Menestheus, who leads the Athenian contingent in the *Iphigenia* tally (*IA* 247-52), cf. Eust. 284. 34 on *Il.* 2. 552, *περὶ δὲ τὸν ἀπόπλουν στασιάζαντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι προικτῶν ἀρχεὺν ἄρχεον Ἀθηνοφῶντα τὸν Θησείδην* (sc. rather than Menestheus) with *E. Tro.* 31 and schol., and Hellanicus *ap. Schol. E. Hec.* 123 (*FGI H* 4 F 143, rationalization of conflicting traditions). We have in the papyrus a reflection of the same tradition, side by side with the Homeric. (Marginally relevant is ancient suspicion of references to the family of Theseus in the Homeric text, e.g. *Il.* 3. 144, *Od.* 11. 631.)

ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν? But Acamas and Demophon are said to have sailed with Elephenor of Euboea (Paus. 1. 17. 6, *Plu. Thes.* 35. 5, Schol. *E. Hec.* 123), so that ἐξ *Εὐβοίας* is a possibility, cf. Hyginus' *Scyro* in the case of Achilles. Or an alternative reading of 7-9 which would get in both Theseids could perhaps be *Με]νεσθεὺς* | [*Πετρώ καὶ (num ἦ?) Δημοφῶν κ]αὶ Ἀκάμας* | [*Θησέως ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν*. 8 ]αι and ]ν make equally good readings.

9f. Tlepolemus: *Il.* 2. 653-70. Hyg. 97. 7 (from Mycenae), Apollod., Dictys, Dares.

10f. Nireus: *Il.* 2. 671-5. Hyg. 97. 13 (from Argos), Apollod., Dictys, Dares; *E. IA* 204f.

11-13 Antiphus and Phidippus: *Il.* 2. 676-80. Hyg. 97. 14 (Antiphus only?—confused entry), Apollod., Dictys, Dares.

ἐκ Κῶ probable; otherwise ἐκ *Νειούρου*, ἐκ *Καρπάθου*, ἐκ *Καλύδνας*.

13 ἐκ *Φερώ(ν)* virtually dictates *Εὐμηλος Ἀδμήτου* before it: *Il.* 2. 711-15. But to read ]ν rather than ]ε is, I think, impossible. Conceivably a divergent tradition (e.g. *Ἀδμητος Φέρητος*], cf. Amarnicus in 2), but more probably scribal error, whether small, e.g. *Ἀδμητος* or *-ου* for *-ου* (but *-ου* for *-ου*, unlike the reverse, is rare: Gignac, *Grammar* ii 23), or larger, e.g. *Ἀχιλλεύς Πηλέω]ς* <ἐξ Ἄργου Πηλεαγικού· Πρωτεσίλαος Εὐφύκλου ἐκ Φυλάκης· Εὐμηλος Ἀδμήτου> ἐκ *Φερώ(ν)*. The problem recurs at 18 below.

Eumelus is present in all the other catalogues, with no divergence from Homer (Hyg. 97. 8, Apollod., Dictys, Dares; *E. IA* 216-26).

The papyrus apparently has no entries here for (1) Achilles, and (2) Protesilaus, who succeed Antiphus and Phidippus in the Homeric catalogue (2. 681-94, 695-710). Unless they have simply dropped out, Achilles at least may have been moved to a more prestigious position, as in Hyginus (97. 2), and he may conceivably have taken Protesilaus with him. Cf. the case of Odysseus and Thoas, 5-7 above. It is curious, but can hardly be significant, that Protesilaus has dropped out of Hyginus' list in the course of transmission (97. 12 <*Protesilaus* etc.> *Podarces frater eius* etc.).

14-16 14 prima facie ἐξ Ἀριστε-. Not in Homer; and I find only Ἀριστεραί, an island which cannot merit consideration. But to interpret other than as a place-name seems impossible. Perhaps ἐξ Ἀ{ρι}στε|[ρι]ου, preceded by Εὐρύπυλος Εὐαίμωνος: cf. *Il.* 2. 735f. This is not totally free from objection, for while Asterium is indeed specified in the Iliadic catalogue as one of the places in Eurypylus' domain, we expect him to be said to come from Ormenium, the first place in the list; so Hyginus, Apollodorus, Dictys, and Dares (except that before editorial intervention Hyginus, Dictys, and Dares each have Orc(h)omenus: a *v.l.* in the Homeric text?) and I find no source that gives preference to Asterium instead. The choice would need no explaining if the papyrus entry originates from a Homeric text without *v.* 734, or one which had *v.* 735 preceding *v.* 734—like Venetus A.

An alternative avenue of approach, opened up by Mr Parsons, would be to read ἐξ ἀριστε|[ράς 'on the left wing', referring to Achilles' position at the extremity of the ναύσταθμος (*Il.* 8. 225 = 11. 8); for scholiastic remnants of ancient scholarship on the relative positions of the Greek ships see K. Lehrs, *De Aristarchi studiis Homericis*<sup>3</sup> 221-4. This saves the given text, and the departure from the normal pattern of entry might be justified in the case of Achilles; but the rest of the data do not readily accommodate themselves, and the papyrus nowhere else shows concern with the ναύσταθμος as such.

In 15 Ποδαλείριος καὶ Μαχά]ων offers itself: cf. *Il.* 2. 729-34. The sequence in 13-15 will then be Eumelus, Eurypylus, Podalirius and Machaon, Philoctetes, whereas the Homeric sequence is Eumelus, Philoctetes, Pod. and Mach., Eurypylus. The other catalogues show comparable variation (Hyg. 97. 6-8, Apollod., Dictys, Dares; the *IA* has only Eumelus). P. Haun. I 7 offers (ii 1-9) Polypoetes, the Asclepiadac, Philoctetes, Protesilaus, Eumelus.

Ἀκκληπιού and the place-name, probably ἐκ Τρίκκης, will follow in 16.

Proposed restoration of 13 ff. is thus:

Κῶ· Εὐμηλος Ἀδμήτο] <v> {c} ἐκ Φερώ(v)·  
 Εὐρύπυλος Εὐαίμωνος] ἐξ Ἀ{ρι}στε-  
 ρίου· Ποδαλείριος καὶ Μαχά]ων  
 Ἀκκληπιού ἐκ Τρίκκης·] Φιλοκτή-  
 της κτλ.

16f. Philoctetes: *Il.* 2. 716-28. The papyrus' Meliboca is shared by Hyginus and Dares; Dictys opts for Methone, Apollodorus for Olizon.

18-20 ἐκγυρ can only be ἐκ Γυρ|[τώνης, which practically enforces Πολυποίτης Πειριθίου (or Πειρίθου) before it: cf. *Il.* 2. 738-44. But the |c is clear: not *v.*: cf. 13. Hyg. 97. 4 (from Argos), Apollod., Dictys, and Dares (paired with Leonteus).

Λεοντεύς Κο]ρώνου: cf. *Il.* 2. 745-7. In the Homeric catalogue Leonteus' entry is subordinated to Pirithous' (2. 745 οὐκ οἶος, ἅμα τῷ γε Λεοντεύς κτλ.), and he has no regions of his own. Hyginus, idiosyncratic as often in this regard, says a *Sicyone* (97. 14); Dictys gives no place-name; Apollodorus has no Leonteus entry; Dares has Polypoetes and Leonteus *ex larisa* (*dothonia* F), *Argissa* edd. Here, I would suppose ἐκ Γυρτώνης again, but there can be no certainty.

20f. Prothous: *Il.* 2. 756-9. Hyg. 97. 13, Apollod., Dictys, Dares.

Before Prothous in the Homeric catalogue comes Guncus, apparently omitted here. (Hyginus' *Cygnus Ociti et Aurophytes*, all daggered by Rose, is readily mended to *Guncus Ociti et Aurophytes*; cf. Apollod. *Γουνεύς Ὠκύτου*, and *Γου->Cy* in Dictys *codd.*)

21-9 Prothous is the final entry in the Homeric catalogue. Appended in the papyrus is a miscellany of additional entries, seven in number. Hyginus' and Dictys' lists each have similar tail-pieces. Two or three of the entries are members of the Homeric catalogue who presumably were omitted from the body of the papyrus catalogue (cf. Dares, who appends Agapenor and Menestheus), but the others are names which have no place in Homer's list.

21-3 Schedius and Epistrophus: *Il.* 2. 517-26. Hyg. 97. 10, Apollod. (unnamed), Dictys, Dares; cf. *IA* 261.

23f. Patroclus has no place in the Homeric catalogue, but is an unsurprising accession. He is in Hyginus' list too, along with Automedon after Achilles (97. 2), cf. Dares.

Perhaps ἐκ Φθιάς at the beginning of 24 (*Phthia* Hyg.); but if *Κάλα*]c follows (see next note), something longer is called for: ἐκ Θεσσαλίας?

24-7 The son of Thestor must be Calchas, who has a place in the tailpiece both of Hyginus' catalogue (97. 15 *Calchas Thestoris filius Mycenis augur*) and of the Latin Dictys (*Calchas ex Acarnania XX* [sc. *naves*]); but absent

from Malalas' Greek version). But if the previous entry ends ἐκ Φθίας, Κάλχας]ε by itself leaves the line too short, and since the Calchas entry seems to have terminated at Θέτροπος (see next note), Κάλχας μάντι]ε is a possibility, specification of profession substituting for that of homeland (cf. *Phoebus Danai filius architectus* and the succeeding two entries in the appendix to Hyginus' list). But that gives odd word-order.

For ἐκ Θηβῶ(ν) in 25 I think the likeliest candidate is Thersander, son of Polynices. Not mentioned by Homer, he is the first of the miscellaneous entries at the end of Dictys' catalogue, immediately preceding Calchas (*Thessandrus, quem Polynicis supra memoravimus, Thebis naves L*; but like Calchas, he is absent from Malalas' Greek version); neither Hyginus nor Apollodorus nor Dares has any mention of Thebes or Thebans. An alternative would be one of Homer's Boeotians, but it is improbable that any of them would be said to be from Thebes. Θέρσανδρος (or Θέσσ-) Πολυνείκο]ν (on the form of the genitive see at 3712 56) would fill the missing part of the line. Thersander will owe his presence to his participation (as leader of the Boeotians?) in the first, abortive expedition against Troy, in which he was killed by Telephus (*Cypria*, cf. esp. Apollod. *epit.* 3. 17f., Paus. 9. 5. 14, Dict. 2. 2). Virgil makes him one of the Greeks in the Horse (*Aen.* 2. 261 *Thessandrus*; the identification as Polynices' son is ancient, see Serv. ad loc.), but the fact that the next papyrus entry is apparently his successor Penelope suggests that it is the more traditional version that is responsible for his inclusion here.

In 26 ]μ could perhaps be read as α, but nothing else. This may be Πηλέεως Ἴππακί]μου (Ἴππάκ]μου, *sim.*, see below). Penelope stands at the head of the Homeric catalogue as the first of the Boeotian leaders, *Il.* 2. 494; cf. the displaced entries of Hyg. 97. 8, and Dictys, who has a single Boeotian entry running *item ex omni Boeotia Arcesilaus, Prothoenor, Penelopeus, Leitus, Clonius naves L*; Dares lists only Arcesilaus and Prothoenor. Homer does not provide his parentage. Hyginus offers *Hippalci*, but versions of the name variously proffered elsewhere are Ἴππάκκιμος (DS 4. 67. 7), Ἴππακμος (Schol. b *Il.* 2. 494, *Plu. Qu. Gr.* 37) and Ἴππαλμος (Apollod. 1. 9. 16). Why is he not in his proper place in the catalogue? He may have been omitted through simple inadvertence, or he may have been deliberately displaced in order to have him stand next after Thersander, his predecessor (Paus. 9. 5. 15, ultimately *Cypria*?).

27f. Ascalaphus and Ialmenus: *Il.* 2. 511-16. Hyg. 97. 10, Dictys, cf. Apollod. (unnamed: δ' [?!] *sc. ἡγεμόνες*).

ἐκ Μινύρου; our expectation would be Orchomenus, and the other lists conform (except that Hyginus has Argos, as also for Schedius and Epistrophus, Elephenor, and several others). Μ(ε)ινυρον or -ος is unknown. But Homer's phrase is Ὀρχομενὸν Μινύειον, and it may be suspected that Μινυρον is simply a misreading of Μινύου, written originally in supplementation of Ὀρχομενοῦ and here displacing it.

The Boeotians, the Minyans, and the Phocians are the first three contingents in the Homeric catalogue, and it is curious that it is precisely these three whose representatives appear in this appendage to the papyrus catalogue. It may be that they were omitted *en bloc* from the body of the catalogue, or at least that the Minyans and Phocians dropped out together, the scribe's eye perhaps having skipped from ἀκαλαφος to αιακοίλεως, which would have been the next entry after the Phocians; but we can only speculate.

28f. Aegialeus: a surprise and an impossibility. The tradition was firm that Aegialeus died in the second attack on Thebes, and no chronology can have had the Trojan expedition precede that—unless perhaps Adrastus' second expedition was made to intervene between the first and second expeditions against Troy, but any such synchronizing tradition would surely have left traces. It is Diomedes (Adrastus' son-in-law), accompanied by Sthenelus and Euryalus, that Homer gives as leader of the Argive contingent, with no mention anywhere of Aegialeus or any other male member of Adrastus' own family. It is interesting that a tradition unrecorded in Homer has Aegialeus' son Cyanippus present at Troy (Ibyc. *SLG* 151. 37, see Barron, *BICS* 16 (1969) 130f., and Paus. 9. 30. 10, harmonizing with Homer), but I find nothing suggesting or even potentially enabling participation by Aegialeus himself. Curiously, the manuscripts of the *IA* offer none other than Adrastus himself as the colleague of 'the son of Atreus' on the Trojan expedition (v. 268), but the emendation ἀδελφός is generally accepted and in any event this can hardly be relevant. Is it conceivable that the *Cypria* had Aegialeus as a member of the first expedition against Troy, that ended up in Mysia (cf. on Thersander, 24 above), or among those at the earlier gathering at Argos (cf. on Acamas, 8f. above)? But then why is he not in Dictys, or elsewhere? It must be accorded more likely that Aegialeus, with or without attraction from Thersander above, is merely a stray from a catalogue of members of a different expedition altogether, that of the Epigoni.

30-4 Suitors of Penelope. The ultimate source is *Od.* 16. 247ff. (a text including v. 252). The papyrus alters the order of listing, and supplies the bard with his name. A fuller version is given by Apollod.

*epit.* 7. 26-30; there the individual suitors are identified, and (as also with the Catalogue of ships) the numbers differ from the Homeric. The extant Hyginus has a list of Helen's suitors (*fab.* 81) but not of Penelope's.

31 *Εἰκαρίου β. c.* See W. Lameere, *Aperçus de paléographie homérique* 26.

Before *ιβ* I should have expected *ἐξ Ἰθάκης*.

34/35 A paragraphus may have been lost, but if so it did not protrude into the text anything like as far as the one at 29/30.

34ff. Other potted accounts of the Danaids, all rather more literate, are given by Schol. A II. 1. 42 ~ Apollod. 2. 1. 4f., Hyg. *fab.* 168, Schol. E. *Hee.* 886 and *Or.* 872, Serv. on V. *Aen.* 10. 497.

Both in Apollodorus and in Hyginus (*fab.* 170) there follows a list of names of the bridal couples—drawn apparently from discrete sources, for names and couplings differ, and there is a formal difference too: in Apollodorus the pattern is *Ἰετρος Ἰπποδάμειαν* sc. *ἔλαχεν*, in Hyginus *Philomela Panthium* sc. *occidit*. That the papyrus also had such a list is suggested not only by the catalogic nature of the rest of its extant contents but also by the prefix of *προεκήχομαι* in 37. The formulation of the opening, *ἕκαστον(?) ἐκάστη ἀπέκτεινεν*, implies that it will have been on the pattern of Hyginus' rather than of Apollodorus'.

34 *θυγατ[έρεις: or -ων*. Then hardly room for more than a single letter before line-end.

35 I cannot make anything of this without emendation. *Ἔ||καρ<τον> τών? καστ-* seems an acceptable reading, though the same series of letters in the next line occupies appreciably less space.

36 *διὰ{ν} τ[ύνα* rather than *δι' <ῆ>ντινα?* For the intrusive nasal cf. III 528 14 *αὐτῆν τῆ ὄρα* (l. *αὐτῆ τῆ ὄρα*) and the other examples listed Gignac, *Grammar* i p. 113.

37 *προεκήχομαί σοι*: cf. e.g. Hermog. *Inu.* 1. 1, p. 93. 8 Rabe, *ὅπως δὲ ταῦτα ἔχει, διελὼν ἐκθήσομαι*.

38 {ἀπό}?

44-5 *εἰς τὴν ν[ύν καλουμένην] Π[η]λοπόννησον?* Other accounts mention the ship (44 *ν[αῦν]*) built at Athena's suggestion, and the island (44 *ν[ήσον]*) of Rhodes, where an image of Athena was set up, and they specify Argos as the ultimate destination.

45-7 e.g. [καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖ] βασιλείαν ἔχει βραχὺ[ν δὲ βασιλεύ]σας χρόνον κτλ.

48 Possibly *παραγενθέντες* δ[έ], in which case a point above δ must be the tail of a descender.

fr. 2. Catalogue of Argonauts. See Seeliger in Roscher's *Lexikon*, i 1. 507-10. The main comparanda are the lists given at Apollod. 1. 9. 16 and Hyg. *fab.* 14, cf. also Val. Flacc. 1. 353-486, Orph. 119-231, Schol. Lyc. *Alex.* 175. Apollonius Rhodius' catalogue was influential, but never attained the authority of Homer's catalogue of ships, which itself was not definitive; lying further behind were not only Pi. P. 4 but Sophocles' *Αἰμιτιάδες* and Aeschylus' *Κάβειροι* (Schol. Pi. P. 4. 303), cf. also Dionys. Scyt. *Argon.* F 14 Rusten (Diod. Sic. 4. 40. 2) and the AR scholia. The papyrus' pattern of data (name, father, homeland, just as for the list of Greeks against Troy of fr. 1) is fuller than Apollodorus', who presents a bare list after the pattern *Ὀρφέως Οἰάγρου*, but less full than Hyginus', who supplies both parents and records variants and other details. A point exclusively in common with Hyginus is the inclusion of Hippalc(i)mus in the papyrus' list (11), see also on Erginus (6f., if rightly recognized). But there is no close affinity. On Hyginus' list see C. Robert, *NGG philol.-hist.* Kl. 1918, 469-500 (not utilized by Rose).

1 *ἐξ Ἀργίου*. There are several possibilities.

1f. Periclymenus: AR 1. 156; Hyg. 14. 14, Apollod. *ἐκ Πύ[λου]* seems to confirm the identification, but what is ] *δου?* The trace is of the top of an upright: *ι, η, or ν*. All accounts give Neleus as Periclymenus' father. I can do nothing with the possibility of *Π. Νηλέως καὶ ΝΝ -ιδου*. Conceivably *Περι[κλύμενος Ποσειδῶνος ν[ιδου]*, genealogically unimpeachable but descriptively odd. Perhaps likelier, *Περι[κλύμενος Νηλέως καὶ Χλωρ]ιδος*, if the alteration is from rather than to *ν*.

Between *ἐκ Πύ[λου]* and *Ἀγκ[αίος]* presumably one entire entry is lost.

3 Ancaeus son of Poseidon: AR 1. 188; Hyg. 14. 16, omitted from Apollod. *Ναύπ[λιος]*, another Argonaut son of Poseidon, could equally well be read, but he comes at 10 below, if I have rightly recognized him there. Erginus (*Ἐργεί[νος]*) would also be available, but he I think is taken care of at 6f. below, see n.

3f. Zetes and Calais: AR 1. 211, Pi. P. 4. 181-3; Hyg. 14. 18 (long entry), Apollod. The supplement for 3/4 is undesirably long, but fr. 1 shows much irregularity of line-end, and *καὶ* may have been abbreviated or haplographically omitted before *καλ*.

4f. Lynceus and Idas: AR 1. 151; Hyg. 14. 12, Apollod. Probably *ἐκ Μεσσήνης* (*Messenii ex Peloponneso* Hyg.), otherwise *ἐξ Ἀργῆς* (*Ἀργήθεν* AR).

5f. Heracles: AR 1. 122, Pi. P. 4. 172; Hyg. 14. 10 (*Thebanus*), Apollod. *Πολυδεύ[κης]* would be an alternative, but he presumably goes in tandem with Castor, at 12 below.



6f. Erginus: the only Argonaut I find who can be accommodated to the data in 7. For Apollonius (1. 187) he is a son of Poseidon, along with Ancaeus and Euphemus, and he is from Miletus; but this may be a piece of unorthodoxy on Apollonius' part. Pindar in *Pythian* 4 has only two Argonaut scions of Poseidon, and they are Euphemus and Periclymenus: no mention of Erginus. Apollodorus in his list follows the Apollonian paternity (1. 9. 16, 'Εργίνος Ποσειδῶνος, with Περικλύμενος Νηλέως immediately following), as does Valerius Flaccus in his (1. 415, *proles Neptunia*), but Hyginus, in his, augments: *Erginus Neptuni filius, a Mileto, quidam Periclymeni dicunt, Orchomenius* (14. 16); and his source is apparently the scholiast to Apollonius loc. cit., who reports Erginus' father as Clymenus son of Presbon, this in accordance with the genealogy recorded by Paus. 9. 27. 1, cf. Apollod. 2. 4. 11; and the son of Clymenus at Pi. O. 4. 19 must be Erginus. Evidently it is the non-Apollonian intelligence about Erginus that the papyrus purveys. [In Hyg. loc. cit. I take it that *Periclymeni*, printed undemurringly by Rose, is a slip (whether made before, by, or after Hyginus himself) for *Clymeni*, abetted by the occurrence of the Argonaut Periclymenus a few lines before; cf. [*Peri*]Clymene at Hyg. 14. 2.]

7-8 Admetus: AR 1. 49; Hyg. 14. 2, Apollod.

8-9 Eurytus and Echion: AR 1. 52, Pi. P. 4. 178-80; Hyg. 14. 3, Apollod. (without Echion). On their place of origin, Hyginus (14. 3) says: *ex urbe Alope (~ AR), quae nunc vocatur E(χ)esus; quidam auctores Thessalos putant.* (Cf. Robert, *NGG philol.-hist.* Kl. 1918, 485.) They follow directly on Admetus both in AR and in Hyginus.

10 Nauplius: AR 1. 134; Hyg. 14. 11, omitted from Apollod.

11-12 I base the restoration on Hyg. 14. 20, *Hippalcimos Pelopis et Hippodamiae <O>enomai filiae filius ex Peloponneso a Pisis.* Hippalcimos is otherwise unknown as an Argonaut, but cf. Πηνέλεως Ἰππάλμου (= Ἰππαλκίμου, see on fr. 1. 26) in Apollodorus' list.

### 3703. RHETORICAL DECLAMATION?

Plate VI

A 3B.6/9E

18 × 17 cm

Fifth century

A fragment seemingly of an Attic oration; but it is written, in the direction of the fibres, in an informal Byzantine hand of probably the fifth century. On the other side are fragmentary remains of an account (not transcribed), also written along the fibres, and conceivably that was the side used first. The best guess I can make as to the nature of our text is that it is a rhetorical declamation, whether a copy of an exemplary *ἐπίδειξις* such as those transmitted under the name of Libanius or the draft of an original one. But there is perplexing interchange of grammatical person and number, and *εἶπέν μοι* in l. 8 might suggest the report of a conversation.

. . . . .

]. [

]. εχ[ . . . . ] . . [ . . ] . . [

]. . [ . . . . ] . νμεινεδημη

] βαιοι

]. . . . .

5 ] αιουσεχοντεσεννησωτιχηρησασκαιτι

] . . θαλατ'ταντριηρωνουκαναστησεταιηδη

] . ουκαθελκεσθαιτασναυσουκουνειπεγμοι

]ςποιησαν. ευμειεκτωναμφοτερων  
 10 ]επραθη. [. . .]. επει. . ε. . . [. . .] . . . [

. . . . .

6 ]αίους ἔχοντες ἐν νήσῳ τί χρήσας καὶ τί(-)  
 τ]ῆν θάλατταν τριήρων οὐκ ἀναστήσεται ἤδη  
 ]. ου καθέλκεσθαι τὰς ναῦς. οὐκουν εἰπέγ μοι  
 ]ςποιησαν. ε ὑμεῖς ἐκ τῶν ἀμφοτέρων

3 ὑμεῖν (i.e. ὑμῶν), cf. 9 ὑμεῖς. Then ἔδημη[γόρησε *vel sim.*

3-4 The right margin is unusually irregular. Line 4 is nearly 2 cm shorter than l. 3. A reluctance to divide words between lines might account for it, though l. 3 (unless the articulation is -μεινε δὴ μὴ, but ἔμεινε cannot be read) apparently spills over.

4 οἱ Θη]βαῖοι, βέ]βαιοι, *al.*

6 ]αίους: Athenians? Thebans? or e.g. βεβαίους, χερσαίους? Punctuate after ἐν νήσῳ? τί χρήσας: an oracle? Conceivably there is allusion to the famous 'wooden walls' Salamis oracle of Hdt. 7. 141, for which see on XLV 3236 fr. 2. This would give some points of contact in ll. 6-8, but what is the island? One guess might be Sphacteria: so Mr Parsons, envisaging a speech against Cleon (cf. XXIV 2400) by Nicias in the situation described at Th. 4. 27. 4-28. 3. χρήσας is avoidable if we can accept χρήσας, but as for ]αίους, I do not think either πολε]μίους or Λακεδαιμο]νίους is to be read.

7 θάλατταν. Since contemporary usage vacillated between -ττ- and -cc- (Gignac, *Grammar* i 149), the Attic form may be of no significance.

Punctuate after τριήρων? οὐκ ἀναστήσεται: a challenging question with reference to an opponent? Or in view of ὑμεῖς below, ἀναστήσεται = -εστε might be considered, as suggested by Dr Rea, who adduces ἀναστήσαντες τὸ στρατόπεδον Th. 1. 62. 4; similarly perhaps 8 οὐ καθέλκεσθαι = -εσθε.

ἤδη. A blot between δ and η might be cancellation: ῆ (or ῆ) [δῆ-]? But η looks to me more like ν, and ο[ην] might be read for δη.

9 ὑμεῖς: addressing the Athenian assembly? ἐκ τῶν ἀμφοτέρων: a threat from both sides? from both sea and land?

### 3704. TEXT WITH MUSICAL NOTATION

Plates IV, VI

51 4B.18/G(1-3)b

fr. 1 11 × 11 cm

Second century

Three scraps of musically notated text, unidentified. The text is written in a round informal hand similar to but not I think identical with that responsible for the text of XXV 2436, also musically notated. It may be assigned to the second century. The notation seems to have been done with a thinner pen, and gives the impression of being by another hand. The fact that the notational letters are differently formed from the textual ones does not necessarily mean that they are by a second hand, for the notational forms may have gone their own way, but I should prefer to recognize two scribes, as is supposed also for 2436. Both sides of the papyrus are occupied. We may be dealing with a codex, or, if the composition was short, with an opisthograph; the latter perhaps more likely. At any rate there is no reason to suppose that more than one composition is represented.

The notation is very loosely executed. The notes were apparently meant to be positioned above the vowels, but the placing is far from precise. Similarly with the rhythmical symbols that accompany the notes: the diseme (a superior bar) and especially the stigme (a superior dot) tend to stray rightwards. In the transcription offered below, the positions, as well as the forms, of the notes and of their attendant symbols have necessarily been normalized. Add that their very identification is at many points uncertain, and it will be clear that reliance on the transcription will be more than usually precarious.

We have no coherent run of either text or music. The text may have common theme with Hesiod's *Theogony*, if Typhos at fr. 1 ↓ 6 is not a misleading clue. It seems to be predominantly dactylic or anapaestic. Sequences such as ... ∪∪-|∪∪ ... (fr. 1 ↓ 4, → 5?) rule out hexameters but could be either elegiac or anapaestic. 'Ερεινύων, fr. 1 → 4, would normally scan ∪-∪-, but ∪-- (as at E. *IT* 931, 970) is perhaps not excluded. Musically notated texts are usually written in lines longer than the hexameter, non-stichically. But fr. 2 → appears to have a line-end, with a longer line above; irregular line-lengths suggest disposition *κατὰ τρίχρον*. The one surviving line-end is *Κύπρι*, presumably --. The notational stigme should be applied on principles associated with the metre, but I have been able to make little use of its evidence, or of that of the leimma.

The surviving musical documents have been collected by E. Pöhlmann, *Denkmäler allgriechischer Musik* (Nuremberg 1970). Since then there have been published XLIV 3161 and XLIV 3162 (both third century), and a third-century BC text of lyrics from E. *IA*, P. Leid. inv. 510, *CRAI* 1973, 292-302; add also 3705.

In the notational transcription given below, + indicates a note too damaged for identification. Dubious identifications are signalled as such in the apparatus, not the transcript.

fr. 1 →	
1	. . . . . ] α. [
2	]Ξ C + + [ ]. [ . . ] εβ . . . ρσν . . μρσεμ [
3	]Z I' Z'+ + I'+ ∪ C' Z' I' [ ]εκεε. ε. ε. . . ανομωχεριφ [
4	] + + + Φ - C' Z'+ Ξ Ξ I' [ ]. [ . . . ] γαρεριννωνουκενο. [
5	] + [ ] + Z' I' Z' I' ZI ZI [ ]. [ . . . . ] ουφονιονθηρατιτ [
6	] Ċ ð : OΞΞ [ ] + [ ]. ] ουφεισαμενος. [

Text. 2 εβ practically certain; then traces suggesting μ; next letter almost completely lost except for trace of apparent horizontal at letter-top level; then ρ, almost certain After ν, a curl at foot, a hole, then a vertical, lost at foot: αμ? 3 Abraded After second ε, perhaps ν (not λ); after third ε perhaps ν or υ 4 . [ letter-top speck as of e.g. υ or τ 5 ιτ[: the papyrus now has only ι[, but ιτ[ is clear on the photograph 6 . [, anomalous low traces

Notation. 2 Ξ, tail only After C the papyrus is damaged, and notes may have been lost + and + are slight traces, broken above 3 Z, or ∪ I' uncertain; the surface is mostly gone Signs after Z most uncertain: two specks Of the next note there is a trace as of the top bar of C Above αν: the first note(?) was low and small (O?); thereafter the surface is relatively undamaged, but the decipherment is uncertain: the putative diseme is touching the putative I, so that I would be an alternative transcription The diseme above C is unusually short, and the stigmaton at an unusual distance to right and above Final I uncertain 4 Before Φ perhaps C, but there are further traces intervening —, too low to be a diseme, and there is no apparent loss After the second Ξ, and less probably after the first, a stigmaton could have been lost; otherwise the last five notes are intact and clear 5 Diseme(?) after Z is low, but does not seem to be simply the tail of Z I' not altogether certain Above ον, I(?) is very short and sloping; the combination is quite unlike that in 3

fr. I ↓

1	. . . . .
	]αλαμ[
2	]ΓΦΞ[ ]+[ ]. μελεα. δειδρωσγ. κ. [.] [
3	ΖΖ/Ξ+ + Ξ Ο Ξ I Ζ+Ο   ]ιδιωγενετηγεταμημενον[
4	Ο Ζ C ᾠ+τ Γ τ Ο'   ]ξκκοπελωνεξεθορενφο[
5	] -ᾠ̄̄ Οτ̄ τ̄: [ ] Ξτ̄ [ ] ]ςικελωνεξαντρω[. ]ηλθξ[
6	]+ Ξ ᾠ̄̄ Ε τ̄ ᾠ̄̄ Οτ̄ + [ ] ]στηρητυφωσγκκ. [

Text. 2 ], , apparent upright After α, traces of one broad letter, perhaps ν, or two narrow 5 ]εκ visible on infra-red photograph 6 . [, a hook, most suitable for υ among vowels, rather lower than would be expected for η or ι

Notation. 2 Φ not certain +, low horizontal, lost above 3 Between Ξ' and Ξ all most uncertain Last +, perhaps I or Ξ 4 First three notes not certain 5 No trace of notation until the horizontal bar, at note level 6 E undamaged, but decipherment uncertain: C is an alternative reading Above ε, possibly O' or an ill-formed C, with diseme

fr. 2 →

<p style="text-align: center;">. . .</p> <p>1           ]    [</p> <p style="text-align: center;">          ] +<sup>-</sup> [</p> <p>2    ] η α ξ [ . ] . ε ι η [</p> <p style="text-align: center;">          <sup>-</sup> Ɀ [ ] [</p> <p>3    ] . κ υ π ρ ι [</p> <p style="text-align: center;">          ] [</p> <p style="text-align: center;">. . .</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">↓ . . .</p> <p style="text-align: center;">] Z [</p> <p style="text-align: center;">] ρ ν [</p> <p style="text-align: center;">] + [ . ] + + + Ɀ [</p> <p style="text-align: center;">] . α . [ . . ] . c α [</p> <p style="text-align: center;">] C [</p> <p style="text-align: center;">] ε ψ ε κ ε ν [</p> <p style="text-align: center;">] +   +   + [</p> <p style="text-align: center;">. . .</p>
---	--

1 Blank: top of column?

fr. 3 →

<p style="text-align: center;">. . .</p> <p>1           ] + [</p> <p style="text-align: center;">] . ο τ α ν [</p> <p style="text-align: center;">          ] Λ [</p> <p>2           ] α ξ ε . [</p> <p style="text-align: center;">          ] Λ   Λ [</p> <p>3           ] . [</p> <p style="text-align: center;">. . .</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">↓ Blank or abraded</p>
---	---

3 First Λ uncertain

*Text*

fr. 1 ↓ 3 ]ιδίω is an almost certain reading. ]ιδίω γενέτη makes a reasonable beginning, but then what? There seems little promise in Γέτα. γηγενή or γηγενέτην would be very apt for Typhos, seemingly mentioned in 6 (γγγενής [A.] *PV* 351, of Typhos; γίγαντι γηγενέτα προσόμοιος *E. Ph.* 128, of Hippomedon, no doubt with Typhos in mind, cf. *A. Sept.* 493 and *Hes. Th.* 185), but this is to move too far from the text. γεγαμημένον is tempting, though it does seem to be τ, not γ, that is written. If so, what neuter female (τέρα;) married her own father (or son)? This line of approach is owed to Mr Parsons, who adduces *Hyg. Fab. 'praef.'* 3, where Tartarus is listed among the offspring of Earth and Aether; Typhos was born (cf. on 5 below) of Earth and Tartarus.

<sup>4</sup> σκοπέλων ἐξέθορον.

<sup>5</sup> Κυκλών ἐξ ἄντρω[ν] ἦλθε. Typhos is invariably connected with Sicily; on the other hand, the cave associated with him is not Sicilian but Cilician, where he was born (e.g. *P. P.* 1. 16, [A.] *PV* loc. cit. and Schol.). But the manuscripts have ἐν Κυκλίᾳ at Apollod. 1. 6. 3 and Schol. *Pl. Phdr.* 230A.

<sup>6</sup> The most promising articulation is perhaps ]ετηρ ἢ Τυφῶς η Κυκ. [Aristotle knows of a Giant Ἄετηρ, fr. 657 Rosc (I owe the reference to Mr Parsons). I find no Giant in Sc-; Κυ[ύ]λλα would be at home in a catalogue of monsters. Or if τυφῶς 'typhoon', πρη]ετηρ ἢ τυφῶς ἢ κκη[πτός(?) offers itself (τυφῶ και πρηετηρι *Δγ. Lys.* 974, τυφώνιοι κκηπτοί Hermias, *In Pl. Phdr.* 75A). Typhon had special Egyptian connections (see esp. Hdt. 2. 156, 3. 5), but there is no indication that they are in play here; the same goes for his place in magic. In a post-classical composition one would expect not Τυφῶς (τυφῶς) but Τυφῶν (τυφῶν); perhaps Τυφῶς was chosen as being more high-flown.

fr. 2 → 3 This line ends shorter than the preceding one: therefore Κύπρι rather than Κύπρι-?

### Notation

Identification of the musical notes and the accompanying symbols is more than ordinarily difficult. The papyrus is damaged, and the notation is loosely executed. Most if not all of the notes are letters of the alphabet—it is the so-called 'vocal' notation that is used, as regularly—but they are not formed in the same way as in the text itself. The most secure guide to their identification is comparison with the forms they take in other musical documents. XLIV 3161 and XXV 2436 are palaeographically close.

On the front (→) of fr. 1, notes identifiable with some confidence are Z, Ξ, O, C, Φ, and I. Z is often no more than a sinuous curve (cf. 3161, less extreme); Ξ is a similar but extended squiggle. O is generally clear enough, though sometimes open at the top; it tends to be small and flattened. C shows some variation of form, but consistently has a squarish appearance, its top being made in a separate stroke, more or less horizontal and liable to be mistaken for the diseme. Of Φ there is only one instance (4), but it is tolerably clear. I is rather problematic. It looks clear towards the end of 5, and also at the end of 4, where it is a little curved but it is only doubtfully recognized at earlier points in 5 and in 3. Also on fr. 1 → are: a horizontal bar in 4, apparently a note, something of a mystery, perhaps occurring again at ↓5; and a shallow cup in 3, on which see just below. There is much else that is uncertain here, but that is attributable largely to the condition of the papyrus.

Decipherment of the notation on the back (↓) of fr. 1 is more troublesome. Ξ, Z, I, and O are clear enough, and perhaps C too, but in addition there are the following:

A shallow cup (clear twice in 5, once in 6; cf. →3). Notes which this could conceivably represent are Υ, ω and Ū. Υ I should have expected to retain a shank, ω to retain some trace of a central bowing, and Ū (omega ὤπτιον) to retain some vestige of its side-pieces (cf. 3161). On musical grounds only Ū is acceptable, however (see below, 'Musical Interpretation'), so while I transcribe the note as ∪ I shall refer to it less non-committally as Ū, omega ὤπτιον.

A sign looking something like an inverted version of this may be not a note at all, but the leimma symbol, Λ: the leimma, or 'rest', is similarly formed as a simple arch in other papyri.

E is probably to be recognized in 6. Doubt is occasioned by its being formed exactly like C, only with a superior dash.

In 5 and 6 O is directly followed by a stroke rising slightly from left to right: not a diseme, for there is a diseme above. Such a stroke is found also with Ξ (probably) at the end of 5. I would take it to be the dash which in the scales of Alypius, much as in modern alphabetic notation, raises the note by an octave. It is to be found in the Berlin tragic papyrus (Pöhlmann, no. 32, plate in *SB K. Preuß. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1918, opp. p. 768); the stroke there is in a similar position but at an angle of about 45°.

The badly damaged fr. 2 adds nothing to these data. But fr. 3 → clearly has A.

Of rhythmical symbols, the leimma has already been noted. The diseme and the stigmatē are both of frequent occurrence, separately and in combination. They tend to be placed to the right of their note, but the placing is very variable, and it is often uncertain whether or not a dot is to be taken as belonging to the previous note. The double-point is clear at fr. 1 → 6.

*Musical Interpretation*

The reasonably assured notes on fr. 1 → are Φ C O Ξ I Z. These form a consecutive sequence of notes (in the diatonic genus) in three tonoi:

Hyperionian: from *παρυπάτη ὑπάτων* to *μέση*.

Ionian: a fourth higher, from *παρυπάτη μέσων* to *νήτη συνημμένων*.

Hypolydian: from *λίχανος μέσων* to *νήτη διεξευγμένων*.

The same options were presented by 3161.

If fr. 3 →, which has Λ, belongs to the same composition, Hypolydian may be excluded, for Λ (f#') has no place in it. In Ionian and Hyperionian it is a standing-note (*φθόγγος ἐκτός*; outer note of tetrachord, of fixed pitch).

The music on the back may well be in the same tonos. Again we have O Ξ I and Z, and probably Φ and C. There are also: a note which I have taken as Ψ; O'; probably Ξ'; and probably E. In the Ionian and Hyperionian tonoi, E belongs only to the latter (*τρίτη συνημμένων*); and the same is true of Ξ' (*τρίτη ὑπερβολαίων*), which is beyond the range of the Ionian.

Unless there was modulation *κατὰ τόνον* (see on 3161, p. 63 n. 1, and the next number in the present volume), all may be in Hyperionian. In that case, the music on fr. 1 → is all but confined to the two lower conjunct tetrachords, *ὑπάτων* and *μέσων*; Ψ, however, if rightly recognized in 3, takes us into the next tetrachord up (but not via the standing-note *μέση*, Z), whether conjunct (*συνημμένων*) or disjunct (*διεξευγμένων*). Fr. 1 ↓ goes higher again: O' is the common standing-note of the upper two conjunct tetrachords, *διεξευγμένων* and *ὑπερβολαίων*, while Ξ' is the next note up.

On the front there is nothing which may not belong to the conjunct tetrachords *ὑπάτων*, *μέσων*, and *συνημμένων*, i.e. to the lesser perfect system. But on the back we have (after a *leimma*) E Ψ in 6, which, if rightly deciphered, must be within the conjunct tetrachord *συνημμένων*, while in the previous line (again after a *leimma*) we have Ψ O', a sequence which belongs to the disjunct tetrachord *διεξευγμένων*; and in fr. 3 we have Λ, the lower standing-note of the *διεξευγμένων*. If we are to interpret the composition with reference to the theoretical treatises, the system must be the 'immutable', τὸ ἀμετάβολον.

Remaining unexplained is the note, if such it be, above *ει* of *Ἐρεινύων* at fr. 1 → 4; its neighbours are Φ and C. Its form is a horizontal bar, too low to be a diseme. Such a note is attested in Alypius' tables as *e*, but this identification is discouraged by the fact that it is confined to the Phrygian (and Hypophrygian) and Dorian (and Hypodorian) tonoi.

Nothing much can be said of the progressions. Sequences such as Ξ C and Φ Ξ show that movement between tetrachords may be effected without standing-note mediation. One wonders whether tetrachordal principles are operative at all.

At fr. 1 → 3 we apparently have the sequence I Ψ C Z I, which in Ψ C (neither of them a standing-note) incorporates a downward leap of a seventh (*g'-a'*). The progressions are usually small, however, and the single surviving melism, :OΞ at fr. 1 → 6, is the smallest interval available in the diatonic genus. The melody is beyond recovery.

*Rhythmical Symbols*

*Stigme* (superior dot). I cannot discern the principle informing the use of the stigme. Difficulties of reading aggravate the problem. I thought first that it marked the *biceps* of dactyls (-∪∪ and --), but this is to force the evidence in places.

*Diseme* (superior -). The diseme is of frequent occurrence, and is regularly associated with long syllables. Its only apparent application to a short syllable is at fr. 1 → 3 *ἀ(νόμω)*, but the decipherment is uncertain. That it applies to the syllable rather than to the vowel is indicated by its presence with e.g. *ἔξ ἄν(τρων)*, fr. 1 ↓ 5. It could be that the diseme is meant to attend every long syllable; though it is absent from *θῆ(ρα)* fr. 1 → 5. In that case, the function of the diseme would simply be to give musical recognition to metrical *longa*.

*Double point* (:). The double point occurs certainly at fr. 1 → 6, and probably at fr. 1 ↓ 5 (immediately before a lacuna). It is used as in other musical documents: placed in front of a pair of notes set to a single syllable (a 'melism'). The syllable in question is short, (*φει*)*ζά(μενος)*: cf. on 3161.

*Leimma* (∩). The *leimma*, if rightly identified, appears in three successive lines on fr. 1 ↓: once in 4, once in 5, twice in 6. Each time it is accompanied by a diseme; in three of the four instances (5, 6 *bis*) it is accompanied also by a stigme, and in the fourth instance (4) there is now a worm-hole where a stigme could originally have been. The position of the *leimma* seems to be above the last letter of a word: *εκποπέλω* 4, *κυκλω* 5, *λετηρ* 6,





Above l. 1, a few traces of ink at various points: unclear whether they belong to the notation or to a preceding line of text.

Text. 1 First *o* of *τοπου* in alteration.

Notation. 2 ] , or P . [ , trace at papyrus edge, position suitable for Z, O not excluded 4 M V , inferior hyphen perhaps lost Ξ (*bis*) in apparent correction

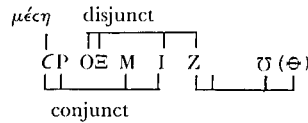
#### Text

If iambic, *μῆμα οτ μνημόνευ-*, and probably *τι* rather than *τί*.

#### Music

Recognized notes are C, P, O, Ξ, M, I, Z, and Ω (inverse Ω). All these are reasonably assured except M, which seems to have been written more stiffly at the line beginning than within the line and in neither case much like a textual *μ*; but the identification is given comfort by this note's comparable variability of formation in P. Oslo inv. 1413. 15-19 (Oslo B, no. 37 Pöhlmann, *Denkmäler altgr. Musik*). Remaining unidentified is a note transcribed as V.

These notes (V apart) may suggest that this composition, like several others (see at XLIV 3162), was in the diatonic genus of the Hypolydian tonos. In Hypolydian Ω is *παρὰνήτη* of the tetrachord *ὑπερβολαίων*, and the other identified notes belong variously to the disjunct and conjunct tetrachords, which according to the Alypian tables were constituted in diatonic Hypolydian as follows:



(A tetrachord's bounding-notes make a fourth; the disjunct tetrachord's lower bounding-note is a tone above *μέση*, enabling a fifth.) But in view of a progression such as ZM (l. 1, cf. the melism MZ in l. 2), which on the Hypolydian hypothesis violates the integrity of the tetrachordal structure, it is probably more realistic to recognize *κατὰ τόνον* modulation with the Lydian, in which tonos the CPMI tetrachord is *μέσων*; the modulation being effected in regular fashion via the common standing-note Z (l. 2, MZ IΞ, cf. l. 4).

But all this ignores V, which is a mystery. The most suitable note from a musical standpoint would seem to be I, but while I is not consistently formed (at least, not if I have rightly recognized it in ll. 1 and 4), it is quite distinct from V, which I cannot believe to represent the same note. Also untenable palaeographically are Ξ, Ω, and ⊖, the notes of the next tetrachord up. A note which V could conceivably represent is what the Alypian tables offer as V (in origin, inverted lambda), which is Hypolydian *παρὰνήτη ὑπάτων* (an octave below Ξ, *τρίτη διεξευγγμένων*), but that seems musically all but incredible; it would entail progressions highly anomalous in themselves and quite out of keeping with the rest of the composition. I cannot solve.

Rhythmical notation is minimal. The hyphen has its conventional function of linking a pair of notes set to a single syllable (its omission from IΞ in 2 may be inadvertent or may be due to there being scarcely room for it). Otherwise there is nothing but a single discme, placed on the first note of l. 1. The stigma (the dot that distinguished *ἄρσις* from *θέσις*) is not used; Oslo B, which is iambic, provides a parallel.

If the notes set to *τόπου* in l. 3 are rightly identified, there was no respect for the tonic accent.

All the musical indications are that this was a contemporary composition.

## 3706. TREATISE ON MUSIC

Plate VII

I B.120/E(c-d)

fr. I 12 × 10 cm

Second-third century

The text of these few fragments of a musical treatise, the largest with remains of two columns but broken on all sides, is written across the fibres, presumably on the back of a roll. On the other side some faint traces of a large documentary hand can be made out, written apparently the other way up. The text of the treatise is in an informal, rather irregular hand, freely ligatured, assignable to the later second or earlier third century. *δέ*, *καί*, *μέν* and *γάρ* are routinely abbreviated. I see no good indication of column-width or -height.

The treatise was no elementary one. If I have correctly recognized *τριτοειδής* at I i 6 (the word is previously unattested), fr. I has to do with a tetrachord's two inner or movable notes, discussed with reference not to *λίχανος* and *παρυσπάτη*, as in Aristoxenus and elsewhere, but to *παρανήτη* and *τρίτη*. The discussion may concern the transition from one genus to another (the three genera being the diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic), resulting in a mixed melopoieia. But exact reconstruction seems out of reach.

Another—if indeed not the same—treatise on *ἀρμονική* is represented by IV 667, which is very probably by Aristoxenus himself (Mountford in J. U. Powell and E. A. Barber, *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature*, 2nd ser. 180f.). Even if it does not belong with that, the present text may well be Aristoxenean, whether the author is himself or a later expositor. It could come from Aristoxenus' treatment either of modulation (*μεταβολή*) or of melopoieia: his discussion of these, the sixth and seventh of the seven parts of *ἀρμονική* (*Harm.* 2. 38. 7-27), is missing from what survives of his musical works, the transmitted three books that go under the name of *Ἀρμονικὰ Στοιχεῖα*.

These are not the only Oxyrhynchus texts for which Aristoxenean authorship has been mooted. Alongside *ἀρμονική* stood *ῥυθμική* and *μετρική*; and it is to Aristoxenus' *Ῥυθμικὰ Στοιχεῖα* that I 9 + XXXIV 2689 has been attributed. But in view of certain apparent discrepancies with what little is transmitted of that work, ascription to a post-Aristoxenean rhythmician may be better.

	fr. 1		fr. 2
	col. i	col. ii	
	]	[	]. . . [
	]κυα[ ]	κ'ύει[	]αιυν. . [
	]τολυ. [ ]	ειστοβαρ[	]. μφων. [
	]ελελιζο	μάλλ[	]. ωστεξα. [
	]εκδια	μελ. [	5 ]cθαιηδ. [
5	] . . κτημελο	κομ[	] . . [ . ]νεταιμ[
	]τ[. . .]οιον. . . ριτοειδης. .	δειτα[	] . . . αυτουε[
	] . μειξιουκμαλισταυτς	πωδ[	] . cωνγιμ[
	]αιτοηθοςμελωδειταιγ	ρωγι[	] . ωδακτ. [
	]διατονουπαρα. . . [ ]	[. ]α. [	10 ]ντοις. . . . [
10	]εχ[η]δ'ουθαπαν	η[	]νγυιωνα[
	]ριτηστη[. ]οξυτερα. [ ]	μ[	]εμικτη. [
	] . ονδιαβα. . ει. [ ]	τα[	]τετραχ. [
	]ωκεναρμον[ ]	εν[	] . υγενη[
	]λλαδξειροντ[ ]	αυ[	15 ]πα[. ]υ[
15	]λονμ[. . .] . . [ ]	νη[	]υ. [
	]τοτ[		
	] . μ. . [		

fr. 1 i i a[ , probably last letter of line 2 . [ , c suggested, o not excluded, hardly δ 3 ]ελ, hardly μ λι intact, but possibly ν (written as in 12, 15) ζ in little question, but δ conceivable 5 ] . . , lower parts, ει suggested 6 ] . , foot of upright . . . , feet of two apparent uprights, then α, λ, τ? At end, perhaps εν 7 ] . , curved upright as of η supralin. ε cursive 8 marg., very faint traces, possibly offset 9 . . . . , consistent with νητη 11 After η, hole of suitable size for ι or c, probably too narrow for ν At end, short upright suggesting ι, not excluding c 12 ] . , sloping upright, possibly ι, but with suggestion of leftward curve at top as of π . . , foot of upright, then traces consistent with ν 14 δ, or α? 17 . . [ , perhaps οι

fr. 2. 3 ] . , high speck, υ acceptable, not α 5 . [ , foot of upright, η or (better?) ι 6 ] . . [ . ] , specks suggesting ο, then perhaps γ[ι] 7 ] . . . , ιεξ? 8 ] . , α or ε suggested 9 ] . , γ or τ 10 . . . . [ , scattered specks



fr. 1 i 1 ]κνα. If rightly read, little offers but (-)γλυ]κυ α-? It is το τὸ βούλεσθαι γλυκαίνειν αεί on the part of musicians that Aristoxenus attributes the displacement from popularity of the enharmonic genus, with its extreme intervalllic differences within the tetrachord, by the chromatic and diatonic, *Harm.* 1. 23. On P. B. Meyer's interpretation of ἡ γλυκεῖα μῦσα at Pl. *Lg.* 802 c 6 as a reference to the chromatic genus see W. D. Anderson, *Ethos and Education*, 195.

2 Apparently not λυδ[ι]-, of the 'Lydian' mode.

3 ἐλελιζο[μ-, however surprising textually, looks the best reading palaeographically. μελιζο- is perhaps not quite excluded, but that too is not a word one would expect to find (Phld. *Mus.* xi 87, fr. 12 [= bk. 3 fr. 30] 3f., but no occurrence that I can recall in the mainstream treatises). An alternative decipherment might be ]ελεν.δο.

4 ἐκ δια[τόνου? Cf. 9 below, and on 6, 8.

5 If μελο is right (the papyrus is damaged and ink lost, but μελ is in little doubt and it is difficult to take the last letter as any other vowel), μελο[ποι- is very probable: hardly τῆ μελο[ποιία, if preceded by κ: (-)μ]εικτη μελο[ποιία would well suit the remains. (μικτή again at fr. 2. 12, but there so spelt; and cf. 7 below?) In Aristides Quintilianus' chapter on melopoeia, 1. 12 (Aristides treats melopoeia as the final, seventh part of ἀρμονική, 1. 5 *fin.*, cf. Aristox. *Harm.* 2. 38), it is stated that μελοποιῖαι can differ from one another in respect of genus, system, τόνος, τρόπος, and ἦθος (p. 30. 8-15 W-I); clearly we should need to have more of the context before we could know just what would be meant by mixed melopoeia here, but it does seem that change of genus, and correspondingly of ethos, is under discussion. Aristoxenus' general statement on genera (which constitute the first of the seven parts of ἀρμονική, *Harm.* 2. 35 *init.*), *Harm.* 2. 44. 24-7, goes πάν μέλος ἔσται ἢτοι διάτονον ἢ χρωματικόν ἢ ἑναρμονικόν ἢ μικτὸν ἐκ τούτων ἢ κοινὸν τούτων; Cleonid. 6 (p. 189f. Jan) gives exegesis, cf. Bellermann's Anon. ii 14 (p. 5. 11-13 Najock), Ptol. *Harm.*, p. 38. 33-39. 16 Düring. For generic modulation (μεταβολή) cf. Bacch. 50, 52 (p. 304 Jan), Cleonid. 13 (p. 205 Jan), *DH Comp.* 13. 1-2. μίξις is one of the three constituent parts of melopoeia listed by Aristides (29. 2-7 W-I), but this can have no bearing on 'mixed melopoeia', for any melopoeia, mixed or not, will have μίξις—of notes, of vocal loci, of kinds of melody, etc.

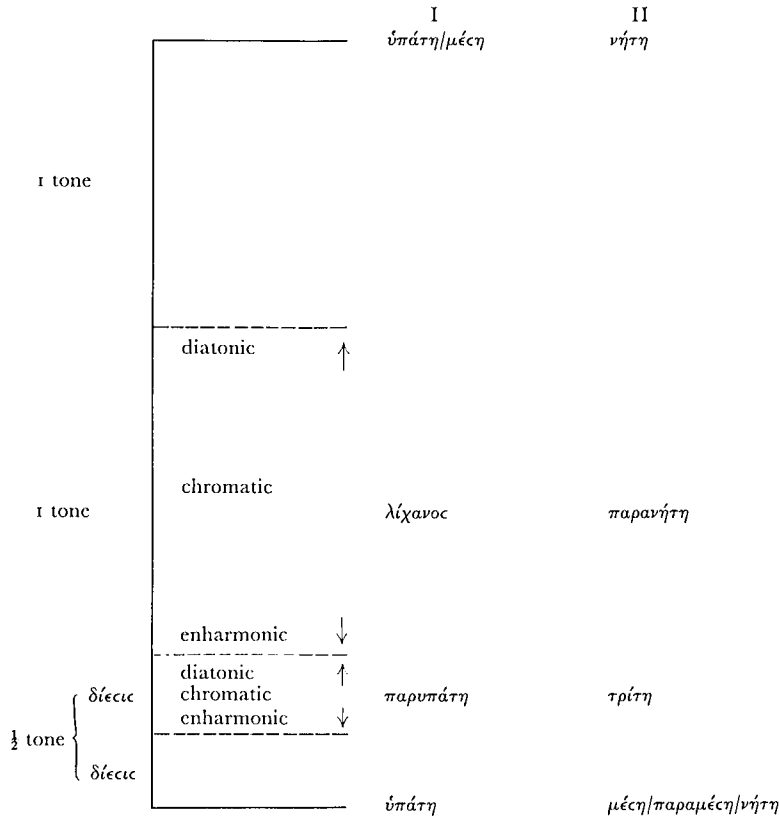
6 τριτοειδής is *addendum lexicis*. The reading is not perfectly assured but I find no other. οἶον ἢ τριτοειδής possible. The formation is analogous to μεσοειδής, νητοειδής, etc., and will refer to the pitch or pitch-range of the note τρίτη in relation to the other notes of the tetrachord.

At 9 below we apparently have τῆς] διατόνου παρανήτης, diatonic παρανήτη. παρανήτη and τρίτη are the inner pair of notes of the upper tetrachords. A tetrachord's inner notes are 'movable', i.e. they have no invariable pitch relative either to each other or to the tetrachord's bounding notes, the 'standing' notes. The intervals within the tetrachord will vary according to genus—diatonic, chromatic, or enharmonic. The diagram opposite illustrates the tetrachordal structure.

The fundamental discussion is that of Aristoxenus on the range or locus of the λίχανος, ὁ λιχανοειδής τόπος: *Harm.* 1. 22-7, cf. 2. 49-52. λίχανος and παρυπάτη are the movable notes of the lower tetrachords, corresponding to παρανήτη and τρίτη in the upper ones. Aristoxenus expressly chooses the μέση-λίχανος-παρυπάτη-ὑπάτη tetrachord (the tetrachord μέσων) as being the most familiar to students (1. 22. 12-21). Later theorists followed his lead: thus Aristides Quintilianus says there are two kinds of movable notes, οἱ μὲν παρυπατοειδεῖς οἱ δὲ λιχανοειδεῖς (p. 9. 25f. W-I); similarly Bacchius (p. 302. 8 Jan).<sup>1</sup> Theoretically there is no reason that the loci of a tetrachord's movable notes should not be discussed with reference to παρανήτη and τρίτη just as well as with reference to λίχανος and παρυπάτη, but presumably there is some special reason for the presence of the former pair here.

It may or may not be significant that παρανήτη and τρίτη are the inner notes of both the conjunct and the disjunct tetrachords; the conjunct is bounded by νήτη (συνημμένων) and μέση (which is the higher standing note of the adjacent tetrachord), the disjunct by νήτη (διεξενγμένων) and παραμέση, παραμέση being a tone above μέση. The relation of the movable notes to the standing notes (and to each other) will be identical in either case, but the entire disjunct tetrachord is a tone higher than the conjunct. Nicomachus, introducing the conjunct tetrachord, says that its νήτη coincides in pitch with the (diatonic) παρανήτη of the disjunct (11. 5, p. 259. 6-15 Jan); it would also be true to say that the diatonic παρανήτη of the conjunct tetrachord would fall in the same

<sup>1</sup> λιχανοειδής and παρυπατοειδής are the only previously attested -ειδής compounds of movable notes. Such compounds in the case of ὑπάτη, μέση, and νήτη (e.g. Aristid. *Quint.* 28. 11-29. 1 W-I) are of a different order, since they refer to a greater span than the individual notes.



The dotted lines indicate the extremities of range of the movable notes, acc. to Aristox. *Harm.* 1. 22-7 (cf. Theo Sm. p. 56 Hiller).

The first set of note-names applied to the lower tetrachords (ὕπατων and μέεων), the second set to the upper (κονημένων/διεζευγμένων, otherwise νήτων, and ὑπερβολαίων).

pitch-range as the τρίτη of the disjunct. Cf. Ptol. *Harm.* 2. 6. But it should be stressed that there is nothing in the surviving text to indicate that more than a single tetrachord is in question.

7 At first blush, (-)μείξει (cf. 5 μ]εικτη), whether future or dative; but since the first hand wrote μείξει, not μίξει or μείζει, and οὐ (or οὐδ) καὶ μάλιστα is not too likely a continuation, it may be worth raising the possibility of (-)Μειξ(ε)ίου: a musicologist Μείξιας? Aristox. *Harm.* contains one or two names not known from other sources. Names in Μειξ(ι)- are Attic or Eretrian (Bechtel, *Hist. Personennamen* 303).

8 μεταβάλλεται (c.g.) τὸ ἦθος. Ethical effect was dependent not only on choice of ἄρμονία and of rhythm (Pl. *R.* 398-400, Arist. *Pol.* 1339-40) but also on choice of genus: the earliest and most notable testimony is the pre-Aristoxenean polemic of P. Hib. I 13. 13-23 (the chromatic cannot make men cowardly, nor the enharmonic brave: Aetolians etc. use the diatonic but are braver than the tragedians, who habitually use the enharmonic), on which text see Crönert, *Hermes* 44 (1909) 503-21, W. D. Anderson, *Ethos and Education* 147-52. Genus is technically a matter of the pitching of the tetrachordal movable notes, which is what appears to be under discussion in this column; see the diagram in 6n. above. At Aristid Quint. 1. 6 (p. 10. 13-15 W-1) one of the five categories of note-differentiation is κατὰ τὸ ἦθος: ἕτερα γὰρ ἦθη τοῖς ὀξυτέροις (sc. φθόγγοις, 'notes'), ἕτερα τοῖς βαρυτέροις ἐπιτρέχει, καὶ ἕτερα μὲν παρυπατοειδέειν, ἕτερα δὲ λιχανοειδέειν. Here as elsewhere

ethical effect merges with ethical property. Aristoxenus makes very little of ethical effect (NB *Harm.* 2. 31; I cannot agree with L. P. Wilkinson, *CQ* 32 (1938) 175, that 'he too is at heart an ethos-monger'), but each genus could be said to have an ethos proper to it, and that may be the application here: cf. *Harm.* 2. 48. 31-49. 2, asserting by the way the distinct ethos of each of the three genera, and 1. 23. 20-22, where musicians are said to approximate the enharmonic genus to the chromatic *εννεπισπωμένον τοῦ ἡθοῦς* (sc. of the enharmonic; ἡθοῦς is Meibom's correction of the manuscripts' *ζθοῦς*, and seems to me certain: Da Rios, however, adopts Laloy's *μέλους*); this latter passage has already been adduced on 1 above. Definitions of the generic ἡθῆ are offered by later writers, e.g. Theo Sm. pp. 54-6 Hiller, Anon. Bell. §26 ~ Aristid. Quint. p. 92. 22-30 W-I. The generic 'shades', or *χρόαι*, Aristox. *Harm.* 2. 49-52, do not seem here to be in question. The generic (and intrageneric) divisions as recognized by Aristoxenus and Archytas are comprehensively treated, in terms of harmonic ratios, by Ptol. *Harm.* 1. 12-14, cf. 1. 15 E, 2. 1, and also his remarks on Didymus *δμουσικός* in 2. 13; there is no hint of such mathematical sophistication here.

9 See on 6 above.

10 *εννεχῆς δ(ε) τοῦθ' ἄπαν* (*ἄπαν[τι τῶ . . . ]?*)? The (pitch-)movement of sound can be said to be continuous as opposed to intervallic, Aristox. *Harm.* 1. 8-10. In this sense the theoretical movement of a movable note between the extremities of its range (whether its total range or its range within a given genus) might be said to be continuous, as it were on a sliding scale. This would be consonant with Aristoxenus' discussion of the locus of the *λίχανος*, where issue is taken with *οἱ ἄλλοι* who assign a single position to the *λίχανος* within each genus and an infinity of *λίχανοι* is asserted. But more pertinent may be the concept of melodic continuity outlined at Aristox. *Harm.* 1. 27-9, where a natural sequence is posited (*ἔοικεν ἡ φωνὴ τιθέσθαι κατὰ συνέχειαν τὰ τε διαστήματα καὶ τοὺς φθόγγους φυσικῆν τινα σύνθεσιν διαφυλάττουσα, οὐ πᾶν μετὰ πᾶν διάστημα μελωδοῦσα οὐτ' ἴσον οὐτ' ἄνισον*) and vigorous exception is taken to the practice of the *ἀρμονικοί*, who offered as consecutive a series of minimal intervals or *διέσεις*; a proper treatment of the matter is promised *ἐν τοῖς Στοιχείοις*. Cf. the remark attributed to *οἱ περὶ Δάμωνα* in Aristid. Quint. 2. 14 (p. 80. 25-29 W-I), referring to the ethical effect of the notes of even a *συνεχῆς μελωδία*.

11 Rather than *πε]ρι τῆς τῆ[ι] ὀξυτέρας*, as I first imagined, perhaps *τ]ρίτης τῆ[ε] ὀξυτέρας*, 'the higher (sharper) *τρίτη*'. The *τρίτη* (~ *παρυπάτη*), unlike the *παρνήτη* (~ *λίχανος*), had only two genus-ranges, not three, since the lowest extremity of the diatonic *τρίτη* would coincide with that of the chromatic (Aristox. 1. 26. 35-27. 1, and cf. 2. 52. 1-8); but while its genus-ranges were only two, on Aristoxenean theory the number of possible *τρίται* would presumably be infinite (thus he speaks of 'the lowest chromatic *παρυπάτη*'). What is meant by 'the higher *τρίτη*', then, is unclear, for even those who assigned to the movable notes fixed positions according to genus will have recognized three *τρίται*, not just two; presumably it made sense in context. A diatonic *παρνήτη* (9) would normally entail a diatonic, i.e. high, *τρίτη*.

12 *διαβαίνει* (or *-εν*) may have been preceded by *τό]πον*: of a movable note's passing from one genus-range (*τόπος*) to another? *διαβαίνειν* is used by Aristoxenus in a context of intervallic sound-movement, *Harm.* 1. 8. 27, 9. 15, cf. Ptol. *Harm.* p. 38. 5 Düring *ἐν τῇ πρὸς τὸ μαλακὸν διαβάσει*.

13 *χρωματικ]ῶ κ(αι) ἐναρμον]ίῳ* seems likely (rather than *διατόν]ῳ*, since the chromatic and enharmonic are adjacent).

col. ii 2 *εἰς τὸ βαρ[ύτερον* ('lower', 'flatter') *vel sim. εἰς [τὸ ὀξυ(-)* in the previous line? But *ἐπί*, not *εἰς*, is regular in such phrases, both in Aristoxenus and elsewhere.

5 *ὄμ]οίως, ὁ μ[έν*, etc.

6 *μελω]δ]εῖτα[ι* a possibility, cf. i 8, ii 4.

7 *τό]πων*? With 8 *ὀξυτέ]ρων, βαρυτέ]ρων, ἐτέ]ρων*? Or that could be *ἐγγυτέ]ρων* (cf. 2. 11 n.).

8 *γι]ν-*?

15 Perhaps *παρα]νή[τη* (i 9) or *νή[τη* (the upper standing-note).

fr. 2. 3 *σ]υμφων-*: after *ν* not *α, ε, η, ι, or ω*: perhaps *-ον*. Of consonant intervals (fourth, fifth, octave, etc.) as distinct from *διαφων-*, cf. e.g. Aristox. *Harm.* 2. 44. 28 ff.

4 *ᾠστ' ἐξ αὐ[τ-? -σθαι* in the next line will be an infinitive.

5 *ἡδι[στον, ἢ δι[άτονος*, e.g.

8 Probably either the tetrachord *μ]έσων*, or *διὰ π]ακῶν*, the octave (the span of a pair of tetrachords disjunct), one of the *σύμφωνα*.

9 *δακτυλ[λ-* (*υ*] not suggested but not excluded): somewhat surprising, whether 'finger' or 'dactyl'. If the former, which seems likelier, perhaps with reference to the production of intervals by finger-stopping of the

string (χορδή); e.g. the *διά πασῶν* is produced by stopping midway, i.e. halving the string; discovery of such ratios was Pythagorean; but mention of ‘finger(s)’ in such a connection (whether *χορδή* or *aulos* is in question, and whether large intervals or those differentiating the genera), for all that it would have pleased Curt Sachs, smacks of the sort of empiricism inveighed against by Aristox. *Harm.* 2. 41-3.

11 ]γγυιωνα[ is a puzzling sequence. τῶ]ν γυίων seems unlikely, even with δακτυλ- above, though Dr Rea ingeniously suggests that the word might have been chosen because μελῶν would be confusing; then the discussion may have something to do with the movement of fingers and limbs in time to the music. Another course is to postulate corruption: ε]γγυίων for ἐγγίων, with the *υ* of ἐγγύς retained? ἐγγίων is the form used by Aristides Quintilianus; Aristoxenus has ἐγγυτέρω. It is by reference to the ἐγγύτης or μακρότης of the intervals within the tetrachord that the three genera are distinguished, Aristid. *Quint.* p. 15. 23 W-I.

fr. 3. 2 (παρα)]γγτ[η is open.

6 ]δοτοϛ. Α -δοτοϛ compound could well be a proper name, but I know of no such musicologist, and articulation as e.g. οἰτοϛ] δ' ὀ τοϛ is available.





fr. 2	fr. 3	col. i	col. ii
<p>]κουκανων [</p> <p>∪-   ∪·   ∪∪   ∪∪   [</p> <p>]ιονεπτακυλλαβοντο[</p> <p>]ριενδειεστι, . ξτοιου[</p> <p>5 ]ηπαισηκατακλε. [</p> <p>]γκανων [</p> <p>]·   [</p> <p>]κυλλαβονεχειχω. [</p> <p>]γη. πο. δειον. [</p> <p>10 ]ης. ονδειονο[</p> <p>]ηδεειαμβογ[</p> <p>]αγ[. ]ξαπολλο. [</p> <p>]γα[. ]αχυμ. [</p> <p>] [ ] [</p> <p>15 ] [ ].. [</p>	<p>fr. 3</p> <p>col. i</p> <p>]</p> <p>]</p> <p>]</p> <p>]γε</p> <p>]οδδ<sup>5</sup></p> <p>]μβου</p> <p>]ξυν</p> <p>]· ρα</p> <p>]με</p> <p>]· ν</p> <p>]ω</p> <p>]· ς.</p> <p>]</p> <p>].</p>	<p>col. ii</p> <p>· · · · ·</p> <p>νω[</p> <p>δεεε[</p> <p>τριτ[</p> <p>δειο[</p> <p>[</p> <p>[</p> <p>∪∪∪   [</p> <p>∪∪∪   ∪∪ [</p> <p>τοδε[</p> <p>10 τροχ[</p> <p>· · τ[</p> <p>τα. [</p> <p>· · · [</p> <p>· · · · ·</p>	<p>col. ii. 8 Above ∪∪[, papyrus stripped</p>

2 ]<sup>∪-</sup>, papyrus missing immediately below, any inferior symbols lost

fr. 1 i 1 I should suppose ∪∪ directly preceded; before that, I am not sure. See on 7 below.

The bar-lines demarcate the *χῶραι* (*sedes*, metrical 'positions', cf. e.g. 220 iii 11; the term is Aristoxenean, Aphon. *GL* vi 70. 13) into which the verse is analysed. The *κανόνες* presented in the epitome of Heph. π. *μέτρων* (43-6 Conbruch; the analyses there are by syzygy rather than by foot) use not short and long signs but α and β (which indicate time-values, β = disemic).

2 *ἀσαροτέρας οὐδάμα πῶδ' ἴρανα* (πῶ *Εἴρανα*) *κέθεν τύχοισαν* Sappho 91, quoted by Heph. 11. 5 (36. 17 C.) as the second of two examples of the ionic *a maiore* acatalectic tetrameter known as the 'aeolic', i.e. ∪-∪∪, ∪∪∪, ∪∪∪, ∪∪-∪. At first sight it looks as if --- *πῶδ' ἴρανα κέθεν* in the papyrus exemplifies the metrical scheme beneath which it is written, but this can be so only if (i) our author is scanning *πῶδ' ἴρανα*, against prosodic doctrine (Choerob. on Heph. 14. 1, 251. 7-11 C., cf. 244. 10f. C.: Hamm, *Grammatik zu Sappho und Alkaios* 233; not that such a scansion would not be understandable in itself), and (ii) the quotation is terminated at *κέθεν*. The 16-syllable mentioned in the next line is most naturally taken as implying the full quotation.

3 Hephæstion applies the term *ἐκκαίδεκακύλλαβον* only to the 'sapphic', ∪∪-∪∪∪∪∪∪∪∪∪∪, as do the Latin treatises too (Aphonius, Atilius Fortunatianus), but it would be equally appropriate of the 'aeolic', i.e. the verse exemplified by the foregoing quotation.

4 *ἐπὶ τὴν ἐσχάτην*: of transposition (3 με|[τα-) to the end, I take it, cf. e.g. Schol. metr. Pi. *N.* 9 (149. 9f. Drachmann), τὸ δ' ἐγκωμολογικὸν μετατεθείσης τῆς πρώτης ἐπὶ τὴν ἐσχάτην, and see further on 7 below.

5 ?*τετρά]μετρον ἀκατά[ληκτον*. This could apply either to the 'aeolic' (Heph. 36. 13 C.; ionic) or to the 'sapphic' (Heph. 34. 11 C.; antispastic; cf. Atil. Fortunat. *GL* vi 295. 18-296. 13), though not necessarily to either.

The concept of catalexis, except simply with reference to verse-end, is alien to derivation-theory, which speaks rather in terms of syllabic removal or addition, but a reference in 220 (ix 18) to 'catalectic dimeters' is comparable. This may indicate contamination with the 'Alexandrian' metrics represented for us by Hephaestion, as does the antispastic analysis implicit at 220 iv 13.

6 *λιγέως ἄβροις, ἄβροις* (*αβροις* precluded by syllabification), evidently a quotation. New. Sappho? Anacreon? If *ἄβροις*, which is likely, perhaps continue  $\cup\text{--}||$  (cf. 1 above) or  $\cup\text{--}||$  (cf. 7 below); but probably not an encomiologium, for of that, other stock examples were to hand (cf. Heph. cited in next note). Presumably an *incipit*: beginning ( $\acute{\omega}$ ) *Μούσα* (*Μοῖσα*)?

7 τὸ ἐγ]κωμιολογικόν, i.e., most probably,  $\cup\cup\text{--}\cup\cup\text{--}\times\text{--}\cup\text{--}$ , as e.g. Heph. 15. 10 (50. 18-21 C.), there as elsewhere analysed as asynartete,  $\cup\cup\text{--}\cup\cup\text{--} + \cup\text{--}\cup\text{--}\cup$ , and exemplified by Alc. 383 and Anacr. 393 (97 Gent.). Sacerdos, *GL* vi 543. 26-544. 5, calls this the encomiologium stesichorium and identifies another encomiologium, the archilochium,  $\cup\cup\text{--}\cup\cup\text{--}|\times\text{--}\cup\text{--}\times\text{--}\cup\text{--}$  (which could fit the metrical scheme given in 1 above).

Unclear is the relation of the 16-syllable (whether the 'sapphic', the 'aeolic', or something else again) to the encomiologium, and of either of them to the metrical scheme. It might be said that if the first element of the aeolic (2, 3) is transferred to the end (3-4  $\mu\epsilon||[\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota\varsigma\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\eta\varsigma\ \sigma\upsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha\beta\eta\varsigma]\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\ \tau\eta\eta\ \epsilon\chi\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\eta\upsilon$ ), the given scheme results. In that case the scheme is  $\cup\cup\text{--}\cup\cup\text{--}\cup\cup\text{--}\cup\cup\text{--}\cup\cup\text{--}$  (which conventionally would be analysed as choriambic; it would be an acatalectic tetrameter, cf. 5, but contrast the analysis implied by the scheme). But what then of the encomiologium? Or the scheme could be a catalectic encomiologium. But what then of the 16-syllable? An argument integrating all the data, though necessarily speculative, would be: just as the sapphic 16-syllable may be converted into the aeolic (Sapph. 91) by transferring its first syllable to the end, so the given scheme ( $\cup\cup\text{--}\cup\cup\text{--}\cup\cup\text{--}\cup\cup\text{--}$ , exemplified by the verse quoted in 6), treated likewise, becomes an encomiologium. At all events, such a conversion procedure, a *μετάθεσις* (Heph. π. μέτρ. fr. 2 *in lac.*, cf. Varro, *de ling. lat.* 5. 6 *traiectio*, Caes. Bas. *GL* vi 271. 6 *permutatio*), would be very much of a piece with the procedures of *πρόθεσις* and *ἀφαίρεσις* found in 220, and finds precise analogues in the Latin derivationist metricians, e.g. Atil. Fortunat., *GL* vi 297. 9-15: the alcaic hendecasyllable (the Greek example given is *ὄναξ Ἀπολλων παῖ μέγλω Δίος*, which we seem to have also at fr. 2. 12 below), *si primam syllabam in ultimum transtuleris*, becomes a sapphic hendecasyllable.

8-9 Perhaps τοῦ δὲ ἐκ|[καιδεκακυλλάβου, though not so written at 3 above.

col. ii 2 ἐπεὶ δα[κυλ-?

3 *αι* are ligatured, suggesting *και αμ-* (*ἄμα, ἀμφότερα, al.*) rather than *-κα ἰα[μβ-*.

The coronis will be marking the end of a 'book' or a section. 220 xii 4f. refers to a topic to be treated ἐν τῷ [μετὰ τοῦτο (or a numeral?) ὅ]πομνήματι, but the break signalled by the coronis may be less major.

fr. 2. 2  $\bar{\cup}$  is presumably the notation for a syllable which is short according to the basic scheme (note that a long precedes) but which admits a long in substitution: the counterpart is  $\bar{\cup}$ , seen at fr. 1 i 1 above, 220 vii 2, xiii 14;  $\alpha^{\beta}$  and  $\beta^{\alpha}$  in Hephaestion's schemes are the equivalents. But only here does such a notation occur other than at the end of a scheme (unless at 7 below: see there): I take it to be the final syllable of a colon which could stand as an independent verse but which here has another colon appended to it—a case of *δικαταληξία* (Apthon. *GL* vi 62. 12 ff., cf. Heph. 15. 24 f.).

1-5 In 5 we have *ἡ παῖς ἢ κατάκλει[ετος*, Call. fr. 401: not quoted in the epitome of Heph. π. μέτρ. but at both Heph. π. ποιημάτων (*Poëm.*) i 3 (64. 1-8 C.) and [Heph.] π. ποιήματος 1 (58. 20 C.), in exemplification of stichic use of *κόμματα*; cf. Caes. Bas. *GL* vi 261. 10, and perhaps add Apthon. *GL* vi 164. 35-165. 1 (*in lac.*). It is a heptasyllable, and called the pherecratean. Φερεκράτ]ειον ἐπτασύλλαβον offers itself in 3, and the scheme may have begun  $\text{---}\cup\text{--}\bar{\cup}$ . If this is so far right, what of the second half? It is apparently trochaic, with resolution at least theoretically admitted. The end is possibly  $\text{---}\bar{\cup}$  (cf. fr. 1 i 1), but I think more probably  $\text{---}\bar{\cup}$ , which would give an ithyphallic; though the possibility that it was longer cannot be excluded. Resolved ithyphallics are in fact attested for Callimachus, if only—but perhaps significantly, since he is our most important exponent of transformational metrics—by Caesius Bassus, *GL* vi 255. 10-12 (Call. fr. 402). Known Callimachea employing compound verses of which the second limb is an ithyphallic, though nowhere resolved, are epigr. 39, 40, fr. 554 (all *ἄδα|ιθ*, cf. Theodoridas, *epigr.* 6), fr. 479 ( $\text{---}\cup\text{--}\cup\text{--}|ιθ$  = phalaeccian hendec.), and fr. 227 (*ἄια|ιθ*). *Pher|ιθ* is not directly attested for Callimachus, nor so far as I know for anyone else, but it is noteworthy that Caesius Bassus' references to Callimachus' use in *epigrammatibus* of resolvable ithyphallic and

of pherecratean come within a few pages of one another. And a list of compound verses at Aphon. *GL* vi 144. 27 includes *pher|zia<sub>α</sub>*, followed in the manuscripts by *ex his Callimachi brevissimis duobus* (not in Pfeiffer *Call.*); a lacuna unfortunately intervenes, which will presumably have contained the Callimachean verses in question: *pher|zia<sub>α</sub>*, or *pher|ith* (= *αzia<sub>α</sub>*)? (*Call. fr.* 395, *εἰς Δύμην ἀπιόντα τῆν Ἀχαι-*, is generally taken to be hendecasyllabic, but could conceivably be *pher|ith.*) A Hellenistic poet might have used *pher|ith* either stichically or in combination.

This is only a speculative reconstruction, however. It fails to accommodate ]*ριενδεῖ* in 4, and leaves the connection with 7 fl. unclear. In 4 I suppose *ἐνδεῖ*, 'is defective' (impersonal construction less likely); ]*ωι* rather than ]*οι* (not ]*ου*) is perhaps acceptable for what precedes. Then *ἔστω δὲ τοιοῦτο*, -*οι*, introducing the following quotation (cf. e.g. 220 vii 4). *ἐνδεῖν* as a metrical term is used in reference to the phenomenon of a short syllable's occupying a position that the metrical scheme stipulates as long (e.g. 'acephalous' hexameters). Some such application may be relevant here if the scheme of the pherecratean was presented as beginning with a spondee, as may be expected. (There is a statement effectively about aeolic base at 220 iii 10-14, in different terms.) Alternatively *ἐνδεῖ* may be used with reference to *ἀφαίρεσις* (*detractio*), cf. Phoeb. *Fig., Rh. Gr.* iii 45. 17 Spengel, where *ἐνδεῖα* appears to correspond to what Quintilian (1. 5. 40) knows as *ἄλλευμῆς*; this is in the context of figures (Phoeb.) and solecism (Quint.), but one and the same terminological and conceptual system was brought to bear on metre and grammar alike.

Even if *pher|ith* is the correct reconstruction, there is no guarantee that the combination is Callimachean, though this does seem on all counts the likeliest supposition; at all events such a verse can hardly have been preellenistic. Callimachus is cited relatively often in the Latin derivationist metricians, and verses known to be his are twice quoted in the fragments of 220, each time without attribution: *Call. fr.* 226 (phalaeccian hendec.), epigr. 38. 1 (*zia<sub>α</sub>*), cf. also *Call. fr.* 782 (*inc. auct.*).

If at least the first part is a pherecratean, it is analysed not --, -υυ, -υ, as the derivationist view of the verse as a hexameter segment would have it, but apparently --, -υυ-, υ, i.e. aeolo-choriambically (more or less as prevailing modern doctrine: a catalectic glyconic). This is not the favoured analysis in the extant treatises, but is acknowledged by Athonius (*GL* vi 165. 1-3, 177. 27-9, cf. 172. 13) and espoused in the *Fragmenta Bobiensia* (*GL* vi 629. 16f.); cf. also Hephaestion's antispastic analysis, *Ench.* 10. 2, 15. 23. But an alternative possibility is -, --, υυ-, υ, cf. on 7-15 below. Pherecrates' own characterization of the verse in series as *κόμπυκτοι ἀνάπαιστοι*, whatever is to be understood by that (a headless paroemiac, in my view), is unlikely to be relevant.

7 All that survives before the vertical bar is a dot, which may be taken as the right-hand dot of the pair that marks a substitutive final (or once-final) syllable in the scheme, cf. on 1-2 above. The position of the υ to the right of the bar-line (the longum has no side-dots) is anomalously high in relation to the dot, and at an anomalously long distance from the bar-line; nothing follows. If υ belongs to the scheme, both the non-dotting of its longum and the dotting that attended the preceding syllable are anomalous (cf. on 1-2 above). I have no explanation, unless the floating syllable is to be taken as being in *detractio*, cf. the suggestion made below.

7-15 At 12 we are free but not compelled to recognize Alc. 307 (bk. 1. 1. 1): *ἀναξ* (or *ᾧ ἀναξ*) *Ἄπολλον παῖ* *μεγάλω Δίω*. Lines 8-11 could be an analysis of that verse, something as follows: *τὸ ἄλκαϊκὸν ἰακύλλαβον ἔχει χῶρον [α, ὠν ἢ α' δέχεται ἰαμβο]ν ἢ σπονδεῖον, ἢ [δὲ β' ἰαμβον, ἢ δὲ γ' ἰαμβον] ἢ σπονδεῖον ὁμοίως τῆ α', ἢ δὲ δ' ἀνάπαιστον,] ἢ δὲ ἔ' ἰαμβον.* (This gives a consistent line-length of c. 32 letters.)

This seems neat enough; but the larger context is lacking. In particular, what is the relation with what precedes? It could be that the pherecratean is viewed as an alcaic hendecasyllabic cut down fore and aft: (υ-, υ)υ-, υ-, υυ-, υ(υ). Cf. the *detractio* of 220 viii 1-20 and xi 7-15, and for subtraction at either end the apparent derivation of the anaercontic from major ionic at 220 vii 2. But this is only a guess.

Hephaestion, also offering Alc. 307 as an example, analyses the alcaic 11-syllable as a major epionic trimeter catalectic, i.e. υ-υ-, υ-υυ-, υυυ (Heph. 14. 3, cf. Schol. A on Heph. *Poëm.* iii, 169. 25 C., and Sacerdos *GL* vi 541. 3-5). In Atil. Fortunat., *GL* vi 297. 10, where again Alc. 307 is quoted, a transformation of the alcaic 11-syllable into the sapphic by way of syllable-shifting is presented, as cited on fr. 1 i 7 above; and in the same treatise, *GL* vi 301. 16-26, a twofold analysis of the alcaic is offered: a bipartite iambo-dactylic one, which is the standard analysis in the extant handbooks (Caesius Bassus, Athonius, Mallius Theodorus, *Fragmenta Bobiensia*), and a derivational one from the iambic trimeter (*detractioe unius syllabae*, sc. the eighth). I nowhere find the podic analysis postulated for the papyrus, but it seems in line with what can be seen of the rest of the papyrus' methods.

fr. 3 i 5 π|οδόσ?

6 ἰά|μβου or -ιά|μβου.

8 χ|ώρα?

col. ii 2 ἐν|ιδεέσ, -έστερον a possibility, cf. fr. 2. 4 above.

4 σπον|ιδείο[ν]?

7 Anapaestic suggested: Heph. 8. 1 (24. 13-15 C.), τὸ δὲ ἀναπαιστικὸν κατὰ πάσαν χώραν δέχεται σπονδεῖον, ἀνάπαιστον, σπανίως δὲ καὶ προκελευματικόν, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς δραματοποιοῖς καὶ δάκτυλον, cf. e.g. Sacerdos, *GL* vi 531. 21f. But how will trochaic (10) be relevant? Possibly with regard to catalexis or hypercatalexis (whether or not put in such terms), cf. Sacerdos, *GL* vi 533. 22-5.

10 The same nomenclature, τροχαῖος not χόρειος, in 220 (vii 13).

### 3708. RHETORICAL TREATISE

Plate VIII

fr. 1 27 3B.43/A(1-2)b  
fr. 2 13 1B.129/D(1-3)c

8 × 12 cm  
15 × 24.5 cm

Second (or third?) century

Remains of two badly damaged leaves of a papyrus codex written in a smallish informal but well-executed round and upright hand I would hesitate to date later than the second century. A similar script, rather more irregular and with a different kappa, is that of XXI 2306, XXIII 2368, and XXXV 2742, which is assigned by Lobel to the second century and compared by him with P. Berol. 9780v (*BKT* IV); this latter is a more cursive, still more irregular, and probably later script assigned by Schubart to the late second or early third century (*Einführung* 147f.) and by Seider to the middle of the third (*Griech. Pap.* ii no. 39). A factor telling in favour of a third- rather than a second-century date for 3708 is the use of apostrophe at mute or liquid junctures (*αναγ'καζομενος* 2 ↓13, *εκ'λε*[ 23, *εγ'δ*[ →25), cf. Parsons, *Gnomon* 42 (1970) 379; but I do not think a hand such as this would normally be dated beyond the end of the second century. There is no punctuation.

The assembled pieces of fr. 2 reveal the approximate size of the page: *c.* 15 cm in width, *c.* 24.5 in height. These dimensions match those of E. G. Turner's Group 7 (*Typology of the Early Codex* 14-25). It is not quite certain, however, that the full extent of the margins has been preserved; the position of the central fold is probably indicated by the line of the break at ↓right (→left), a small portion extending beyond that belonging to the opposite page. The written area measures *c.* 11 × *c.* 20 cm, and is occupied by 57 lines of text of *c.* 37 letters: an economical use of space characteristic of early codices. Of the upper margin 1.4 cm is preserved, of the lower 2.8; I should not suppose them to have been much more generous. The side margins seem to have been roughly equal, 2.0-2.5 cm. Any page numbers are lost.

The two fragments were not found together (that is, they bear different inventory numbers) but are certainly in the same hand and evidently come from the same work: a *τέχνη ρητορική*, of exemplary aridity.

Fr. 1 → concerns the *partes orationis*. There were remarks on Hermagoras' addition

of *διαίρεσις* and (*παρ*)*έκβασις* to the Aristotelian list of four, and mention was apparently made both of Apollodorus and of Theodorus in respect of the proem, but coherent sense is hardly to be elicited. Fr. 1↓ is almost entirely rubbed away. Which side preceded which there is no way of telling.

Fr. 2, less incomplete but in extremely tattered and fragile condition and reconstituted from several fragments, has to do with the 'proofs'. At ↓7 a sub-head, *περὶ πιστευτικῶν επ. . [ c. 6 ]. ων* (*ἐπιχ[ειρημά]των?*), is followed by what seems to be a discussion of the *πίστεις ἄτεχνοι*: witnesses at 10 ff., oaths at 33 ff. The name of Antiochus (of Ascalon?) dubiously occurs, in contextual isolation (53). Occupying the → side was a system of *τόποι* (*loci*), pertaining presumably to the *πίστεις ἔντεχνοι*. Once again the order of the two sides is unclear. If the central fold is located to the right of the ↓ side, as suggested above, then the → page preceded the ↓ (codicological recto and verso respectively), and despite some difficulties the internal evidence seems to be consistent with this.

The papyrus' system of *τόποι* seems to have been most elaborate. It does not coincide with any system extant, but with the aid of other *artes*, Latin as well as Greek, a partial reconstruction can be attempted. Such a reconstruction is set out here, as complete as I can make it. Warning should be given, however, that all but the most serious of its many insecurities are here suppressed; they are signalled in the transcript and notes.

- I [*πρόσωπον, πᾶγμα, τόπος,*] *τρόπος, χρόνος, αἰτία, [ἀφορμαί]*  
 II *γένος εἶδος, διάφορα ἴδια, διαίρεσις, ὅλον μέρος, ὄρος, ὄνομα πολυώνυμον, ἀρχή προκοπή τέλος*  
 III *Α οἱ τόποι δυσπευστικῶς πρὸς τὸ πᾶγμα ἔχοντες (?)*  
     (1) *ὁ τῶν παρεπομένων* (attendant circumstances)  
         (*a*) *τὸ πρότερον, (b) τὸ ὕστερον, (c) τὸ συνυπάρχον*  
     (2) *ὁ τοῦ ὁμοίου* (similitude)  
         (*a*) *παραβολή, (b) παράδειγμα, (c) εἰκῶν*  
     (3) *ὁ τῶν ἀντικειμένων* (opposites)  
         (*a*) *ἐναντία, (b) πρὸς τι, (c) ἕξις καὶ στέρησις, (d) ἀντίφασις*  
     (4) *ὁ τοῦ μᾶλλον* (comparison)  
         (*a*) *τὸ περιέχον, (b) τὸ ἴσον, (c) τὸ ἥττον*  
 B *ὁ περιέχων τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὰ καλούμενα*  
     (1) *ὁ τῶν συμβεβηκότων* (accidents)  
         (*a*) *ποιότης(?), (b), (c) κυστοιχία(?), (d)*  
     (2) *ὁ τῶν συμπτωμάτων(?)* (properties)  
         (*a*), (*b*), etc. (incl. *ἀνάγκη* and *τύχη?*)  
 ?IV Incl. *τέλος* and *ὑπόληψις?*

The most notable correspondence is with a system of *loci* which makes its appearance in some of the late Latin *artes*: those of Consultus ('Chirius') Fortunatianus,

Julius Victor, and Martianus Capella. They offer a fourfold classification, *loci ante rem*, *in re*, *circa rem*, and *post rem*. Lines 2-6 in the papyrus, though largely destroyed, lend themselves to identification as listing the constituent *loci* of the first two of these groups. Lines 6-c. 25, if the reconstruction is soundly based, contain the papyrus' complex third group, so numbered (ὁ δὲ τρι[τ]τος 6-7). The components of the first of the two subdivisions of this group, IIIA, seem to be essentially the same as the *loci circa rem* of the Latin writers named above, only there they are not organized into further subgroupings as in the papyrus. A similar scheme to the papyrus' I, II, and IIIA may also be seen as underlying Quintilian's more detailed but less systematically organized treatment of the subject, 5. 10. 20-94. But to the papyrus' IIIB I find no real counterpart anywhere, and what follows does not seem to coincide with the *loci post rem* of the Latin *artes* (*eventus* and *iudicatum*).

The greater coherence of the papyrus' IIIA as against Fortunatianus' third group (I speak of Fortunatianus alone, since Capella's section of *argumenta* is clearly derived from him and Victor's list is only partial) suggests that Fortunatianus' is a deformed version of the organized system of classification that we find in the papyrus. The subgroup components are traditional: the four ἀντικείμενα come unadulterated from Aristotle's *Categories*, similarly Aristotelian are the three forms of arguments ἐκ τοῦ μᾶλλον (καὶ ἥττον), while the three παρεπόμενα and the three forms of ὁμοιότης are familiar elements of rhetorical doctrine. (It is of course the παρεπόμενα that form the top level of the hierarchy of the entire system in Fortunatianus, *ante rem*, *in re*, and *post rem*, with the accession of *circa rem*; since the designations are not wholly appropriate to their constituent *loci*, however, at least as far as the *ante rem* and *in re* groups are concerned, and there is no indication that they were shared by the papyrus, it may be suspected that they are a capricious superimposition on a fourfold classification which originally was more meaningfully designated.)

The designation of the papyrus' IIIA is problematic, though it is clear that it was something other than *περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα*; see on ll. 7-8. The designation of the apparently unparalleled IIIB seems to have been (8 and 18f.) ὁ περιέχων τὰ καθ' αὐτὰ καλούμενα, 'the (topos) comprising the so-called καθ' αὐτὰ (self-existents, independents, absolutes)'; and if my reconstruction is on the right lines, this has two subgroups, *συμβεβηκότα* and *συμπτάματα* (this latter more guessed at than read), each of which is further subdivided. Unfortunately the extent of the damage, coupled with the novelty of the system, prevents recovery of the constituents, but the first of the four *συμβεβηκότα* is possibly *ποιότης*, and there is a chance that *ἀνάγκη* and *τύχη* are among the unknown number of *συμπτάματα*. The papyrus may then have proceeded to a fourth group, but at this point I lose track of the structure. Some space appears to have been given to the *topoi* of *τέλος* ('goal', distinguished from *τέλος* 'end' of group II) and of *ὑπόληψις* ('opinion'), and there is mention apparently of Caecilius (of Calc Acte?) and possibly of Dionysius (of Halicarnassus?) as the papyrus breaks off.

The *topoi* of IIIA could be categorized as relative (cf. *πρὸς τὸ πρᾶ[γμα]* in the initial

formulation, 7-8?). Those of IIIB are apparently in some sense absolute. But just what is meant by 'the so-called καθ' αὐτά'? The reference might be to the consideration of a case (or elements of the case) independently of anything outside it, cf. the distinction drawn by Quintilian in his introduction to 'artificial' proofs, 5. 8. 5, (*argumenta*) *aut per se inspici solent aut ad aliud referri*. Or it might be to the consideration of a case independently of its particularities (that is to say, thetically), cf. Quint. 5. 8. 6 *argumenta vero reperiuntur aut in quaestionibus, quae etiam separatae a complexu rerum personarumque spectari per se possint, aut in ipsa causa* etc., and 5. 10. 53, in an outcropping of Hermagorean stasis-doctrine intervening between his treatment of the *loci* which in the papyrus constitute group I and his treatment of those which correspond to groups II and IIIA. *συμβεβηκότα* and *συμπτόματα* as the IIIB subgroups would be intelligible enough in some such context, though in the absence of their respective species their precise meaning must remain elusive. As a pair, the terms are Epicurean, but we are not bound to see significance in that, and there is certainly nothing Epicurean about the system as a whole. If the first member of the *συμβεβηκότα* is *ποιότης* (it is a guess consistent with the traces but incapable of verification), this invites comparison with Aristotelian and Stoic categories, as well as with Hermagoras' third stasis, *κατὰ συμβεβηκός οἱ ποιότης*.

The system of *loci* found in Fortunatianus is self-evidently Greek, and has been thought to be Hermagorean (R. Volkmann, *Die Rhetorik der Griechen und Römer*<sup>2</sup> 208f.) or Stoic (Fr. Striller, *De Stoicorum studiis rhetoricis*, Breslauer philol. Abhandl. i 2 (1886) 45). The existence of a largely identical system in the papyrus testifies to a wide currency in keeping with Hermagoras' permeation of later rhetorical theory, and the now revealed quadripartite classification of IIIA, Fortunatianus' *loci circa rem*, jibes with what has been seen as a Hermagorean penchant for fours; and on the evidence of Cicero *de inventione*, at variance in this respect from the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, it is not impossible that Hermagoras' *τέχναι* contained a set of *topoi* unintegrated with stasis-theory (D. Matthes, *Lustrum* 3 (1958) 114-21). But in the absence of closer structural correspondence with the system outlined at *de inv.* 2. 27-46 and of any suggestive correlation with what is known of Hermagorean doctrines there is little to be said in favour of an express attribution of our system to Hermagoras (cf. Radermacher, *RE* x i 876, G. Thiele, *Hermagoras: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Rhetorik* 42-4, Reuter, *Hermes* 28 (1893) 112); I suppose it may be called Stoic, but not in any strict sense; the Aristotelian contribution is large. Where the relationship between the papyrus and Fortunatianus can be tested, the latter appears to be a corrupt version of the former, but it does not follow that the system as given in the papyrus is pristine in every respect. It is a synthetic system itself, and may well have undergone refinements in its passage through the hands of later synthesizers staking out a claim to originality. In particular it is not clear whether the papyrus' IIIB group was dropped from the system when it came into Latin or was an accession to it made somewhere along the Greek line of descent. But if the system came from the Greek independently to Quintilian and to Fortunatianus, as there seems to me good reason to think (see on 2 → 4-6), the latter may be more probable. The



fragments nowhere show any hint of stasis theory, but that it was excluded from the treatise is scarcely thinkable; evidently the *στάσεις* and the *πίστεεις* were treated separately.

The scope and organization of the treatise can only be guessed at. Discussion no doubt concentrated on the forensic branch of oratory, τὸ δικανικόν, though mention of the deliberative, τὸ συμβουλευτικόν, is apparently made in fr. 1 ↓. The two fragments are readily assigned to a treatment of the *μέρη τοῦ λόγου* (*partes orationis*: proem, narration, etc.): fr. 2 obviously from the section on proofs, fr. 1 from an adjoining or an initial discussion. All this was probably (but not necessarily, witness Apsines and the Anon. Seguerianus) incorporated within the familiar quinquepartite scheme of *εὔρεσις*, *τάξις*, etc. (*inventio*, *dispositio*, etc.), in which case it is less likely to have been included under *τάξις*, as in Aristotle and perhaps also Hermagoras (so Matthes, op. cit. 189 ff., but he seems to me unduly sure of it), than under *εὔρεσις*, in accordance with later practice; and there is a chance that the treatise in fact confined itself to *εὔρεσις*.

There seems little prospect of identifying the author. First-century composition may be likelier than second, if the absence of later names is anything to go by. I see nothing to encourage ascription to any of the authorities cited in the Anon. Seguerianus.

I am indebted to Dr D. Innes for contributions to the elucidation of this text.

fr. 1 →

..... [ . . . . . ]  
 . . . [ . ] . π . . [ . ]  
 τωνιδίων [ . ]  
 ρω . ανα [ . ]  
 5 [ . ] ε . δωρο [ . ]  
 . . . . . [ . ]  
 . [ . . . ] . ψ ε . [ . ]  
 . ] . [ . ] . ω . . [ . ] c. 9 ] αντ [ . ]  
 γα . [ . . . ] τιν . [ . ] c. 6 ] εστιν [ . ]  
 10 . . η . ωνυ [ . . . . . ] ντιων [ . ]  
 τϑ . . . . . ερ . [ . ] . υειντα [ . ]  
 κ . [ . . ] αοικεια [ . ] η . . ωνιδι [ . ]

Since little can be restored that is not speculative, no articulated transcript of this fragment is given.

Abrasion is in places severe 1 Unassignable traces on rubbed surface, consistent *inter alia* with  
 δικαν[ 2 . . . [ a few specks ], α, λ? . . . [ ο suggested, then speck at foot perhaps of oblique 4 υ, or  
 λι After ω, υ suggested? 5 ., consistent with ο 6 Surface mostly lost 7 . [ τ  
 acceptable 8 . . [ perhaps ικ or νο 9 . [ ρ not excluded . [ low arc, e.g. ε, ο 10 . ., first  
 has upright at left After η, consistent with τ 11 After θ, upper trace as of ε Before ε, μ  
 suggested? . [ upper left of π? ], low oblique coming in to foot of υ, as of α, δ, λ 12 . [ α, λ, μ

δεμονονπροστορυσαντιδ[  
 κατακτηρον. . ιστοτελησδ[  
 15 . ονεισξε[. . ]εραδ[. ]αι[. . ]. αι. [  
 . . ] . . ογον. [ . ] . . χορασδεο. [  
 δι[ . . . ] . ξικ. . [ . ] κβασιεκ. [  
 πα[ . ] εκβαιουσι. [ . ] ιρητορ[  
 ] . . . . ονπεριτωναντιδι[  
 20 ] . . . ονσιντων[ . ] μολογου[  
 . ] ωνξερημενωνταρη[  
 ] . . . . ζσονταικαιμεριζ[  
 ] . ου. αστωνζητουμεν[  
 . . ] . [ c. 8 ] ρεκβασις[  
 25 . . ] . ξε. . . νεναικαιηδια[  
 . . ] . . . ητησπιστεωσκαιπ. [  
 . . ] μβανονταιαπολλο[  
 . . . ] δικ[ . ] . ικουπροο. . . [  
 . . ] . δι. ευξι[ . ] α. . . ρρησ[  
 30 . . ] . δεεκβα. . . . ντιτω[  
 . . ] . σ. . ναι[ c. 5 ] αλλ[  
 . . ] . αλ[ . ] ων. α[ ] ωσοτ[  
 . . ] γευξιο. ιθ. . δ. ρο. [  
 . . . . ] ξεις. ρο[ . ] . μ[ ] ον[  
 35 c. 6 ] . . ακαιεικοτ[  
 c. 9 ] . νκαι. [  
 ] . . [  
 . . . . .

14 After ν, ap acceptable      15 Before ο, κ acceptable      [ . ], consistent with ν      16 At beginning,  
 [επ]ιλ acceptable      [ . ] . . , ε[ρ]μα acceptable      [ . ], top horizontal as of τ      17 After κ, αι? (κ. . not  
 παρ)      At end, upright      18 . [ . ], ν?      19 . . . . , μηστ?      20 At beginning, ρ suggested, ριζ?  
 22 At beginning, upright with apparent oblique coming in to foot from left, e.g. ν, αι, δι, λι, then confused  
 traces on damaged surface; *inter alia διαταcc-* poss.      23 ] . , horizontal trace below left of ο as of δ, κ, λ      . ,  
 curve as of c      25 . . ] . , or ] . . , *sim.*, specks only      κ, or ν      ξ, or θ      . . . , short uprights at either end,  
 ντι poss.      26 ] . . . , suggestion of letter-top horizontal, an upright, specks above a hole      [ . ], curve as of ε,  
 ο, ω      28 ] . , upright      At end, μι acceptable      29 ] . . , horizontal on loose fibre, then perhaps  
 ο      After δι, base line and specks above, ξ?      . . . . , ντι poss.      30 ] . , upright      . . . . , abraded, first two  
 suggesting γι, αι perhaps acceptable (not ω or λ. ), in which case ω rather than αι; then perhaps π, πα  
 acceptable      31 ] . . , specks on loose fibres      After ζ, consistent with ει      32 . α[ ], κα[ι]? (not  
 κα[θ])      33 Compatible with οτιθεοδωρ      34 Before ρ, π hardly suggested but acceptable      [ . ] . ,  
 foot of upright, consistent with [ο]ι      35 ] . . , letter-tops, ρι?      37 Written on underlayer, μη?

fr. 1 → 2 Ἀπρ[λοδωρ- is an untestable possibility, cf. 27.

5 Θ]εοδωρο[ makes an acceptable reading. Theodorus of Gadara? See 27n.

10 τῶν ὑ[πενα]ντιῶν would fit.

11 (-)λύειν, δυνεῖν? But I can propose nothing attractive for what immediately precedes. τιθείας μὲν would be one line of attack.

12 κρ[ι τ]ῶ οἰκεία [τ]ῆς τῶν ἰδ[ί]ων would suit spaces and traces.

13 μόνον πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιδ[ί]κους, 14 κατακτέων (the reading was suggested by Dr Rea).

14-17 Ἀριστοτέλης δ[ε] καὶ N. τὸ δικανι|κὸν εἰς τέ[ε]ρα δ[ι]αι[ρο]ύειν, [προοίμιον διήγησιν πίστιν | ἐπ]ίλογον. Ἐ[ρ]μαγόρας δὲ ὁ T[ημεύτης προστίθησιν] | δι[αί]ρειν καὶ [ε]κβασιν gives what I take to be the sense, without claiming verbatim accuracy. Line 15 is a little longer than one would expect (using the line-length of fr. 2 as a guide), but is irreducible unless the reconstruction is on the wrong lines altogether. The attribution of the quadripartite classification to Aristotle, which I do not find so baldly (or so misleadingly) put elsewhere, will be drawn from Arist. *Rh.* 3. 13. 4, προοίμιον πρόθεσις πίστις ἐπίλογος. If διαιροῦειν is rightly restored in 15, the subject is plural: just ἄλλοι τινές or the like, I expect, but Theodectes is a possibility (cf. Lollianus, *Rh. Gr.* vii 33 Walz; Solmsen, *Hermes* 67 (1932) 145 f.), as are the Stoics (cf. DL 7. 43, the 'proofs' section labelled τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιδίκους, note l. 13 above). On the μέρη τοῦ λόγου, *partes orationis*, see in general R. Volkmann, *Rhetorik* 123-7, H. Lausberg, *Handb. d. lit. Rhet.* §§ 261-2, J. Martin, *Antike Rhetorik* 54-166. By the imperial period the standard number was not four but five (Quint. 3. 9. 1), the 'proofs' section being split into confirmation and refutation, but that is not a very substantive difference, and the fourfold division is often enough maintained, e.g. the extant opening of the Anon. Seguerianus, ὁ πολιτικὸς ἦτοι δικανικὸς λόγος εἰς τέσσαρα μέρη διαιρεῖται τὰ προκειμένα (the terms are προοίμιον διήγησις πίστις ἐπίλογος), or Fortunat. 2. 12 (108. 22 ff. Halm, 118. 7 ff. Calboli Montefusco), cf. Isidorus (510. 20 Halm), Sulpicius Victor (322. 4 Halm).

Here a clear distinction is drawn between an older, four-part analysis (Aristotelian) and a newer, evidently six-part one (Hermagorean). Competition between these two systems of analysis, the five-part one being simply a variant of the four-part, can be discerned throughout the Greek and Latin rhetorica. Thus Cicero follows the six-part in *de inv.*, the four-part in the *Topica* and *Partes orat.*

Thiele's belief that Hermagoras followed the four-part system (*Hermagoras: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Rhetorik*) is contradicted here; cf. Matthes, *Lustrum* 3 (1958) 191, and see further below.

#### Διαίρεσις

The testimony with regard to διαίρεσις, if rightly recognized as such, is new, but does not surprise. To infer that διαίρεσις was one of Hermagoras' μέρη from the phrase *multarum divisionum ostentatio* in a reference to the *aridissimi libri* of Hermagoras and Apollodorus at Tac. *Dial.* 19. 3 seems to me most unsafe (the phrase may better be taken as alluding to hierarchically complex diaereses, such as our papyrus' system of *topoi*, cf. Quint. 3. 11. 22), but sufficient assurance is given by the fact that 'division' is an accepted *pars orationis*, intervening between the *narratio* and the *confirmatio*, both for Cic. *de inv.* and for *ad Her.* In *de inv.* (1. 31-3), followed by the later *artes*, it appears as *partitio*, in *ad Her.* (1. 17) as *divisio*. (This is a curious difference which the hypothesis of an immediate common Latin source must find some way around; cf. the respective renderings of *lóci* as *reprehensio* and *confutatio*; the problem is not confronted by e.g. G. Calboli, *Cornifici Rhetorica ad Herennium* 25-9, q.v. for earlier discussions.) διαίρεσις is now confirmed as the Greek term of the original. Hermagorean διαίρεσις is reconstructed by Matthes, *Lustrum* 3 (1958) 201-3 (note however that *ad Her.* speaks not of two different kinds of διαίρεσις but of two successive parts of it: . . . *in duas partes distributa est. primum . . . deinde, cum hoc fecerimus, . . .*). διαίρεσις as a μέρος τοῦ λόγου is to be distinguished not only from the 'division' of a speech into its constituent parts, δ[ι]αι[ρο]ύειν 15, and other such applications, but also from the διαίρεσις which may have been one of the four heads under which Hermagoras treated *οἰκονομία* (Quint. 3. 3. 9, *partitio*, cf. Matthes, op. cit., 111 f., 188 f.; but back-translated as *μερικμῶς* by Barwick, *Philol.* 109 (1965) 186-218), as well as from the *topos* of the same name, possibly to be recognized at fr. 2 → 5 below.

Some confirmation of the occurrence here of διαίρεσις may tentatively be seen in the terms of 19 ff. The function of the first part of the 'division' as prescribed in *de inv.* and *ad Her.* is to make clear the points of agreement and disagreement between the two sides, *quid nobis conveniat cum adversariis . . . quid in controversia relictum sit* (so *ad Her.*, very similarly *de inv.*). τῶν [δ]μολογουμένων 20 (perhaps directly preceded by με[ρ]εῖσιν) may have the same reference. The second part, called the *distributio* (μερικμῶς?), is that in which *rerum earum de quibus erimus dicturi breviter expositio ponitur distributa* (so *de inv.*; in *ad Her.* it is divided into the *enumeratio*, treating *quot de rebus dicturi sumus*, and the *expositio*, treating *quibus de rebus dicturi sumus*, cf. Quint. 3. 9. 3).

τὰ ῥή[θη]θρομένα 21, perhaps followed in 22 by διατρίβονται καὶ μερίζονται, would accord well enough with this. I am not sure exactly what to do with the residual (-) | τ]ων ἐξημένων 21, but it poses no great obstacle.

Fortunatianus' treatment, 2. 21, looks as if it is based on Cicero, except for the designation of the two kinds: (*partitio*) *per seunctionem* and *per enumerationem*, evidently a later addition. Cf. also Quint. 4. 5. 1-28, a lengthy treatment of *partitio* in a context of *propositiones*. In the papyrus' discussion there is no indication that πρόθεσις had any place; this too would be in common with *de inv.* and *ad Her.*

#### \*Ἐκβάσις

ἔκβασις is here evidently not the topos of that name, Lat. *eventus* (as at fr. 2 (b) → 2?, see on fr. 2 → 24 ff.), but a term equivalent to παρέκβασις 'digression' (Quint. 4. 3. 12, Fortunat. 2. 20, *alii*), cf. πα[ρ]εκβαίνουσι 18, πα[ρ]εκβάσις 24. For ἔκβασις 'digression' LSJ cite only Serv. on V. G. 2. 209, and I know of no other occurrence of ἔκβασις = παρέκβασις; in the papyrus καὶ <παρ>έκβασις is thinkable (παρ[έ]κβασις for καὶ [έ]κβασις is not to be read), but we seem to have the rarer term again at 30 below. *Digressio* (presumably rendering παρέκβασις) is attested at Cic. *de inv.* 1. 97 as a Hermagorean *pars orationis* preceding the *conclusio*; see Hermag. I fr. 22a-d Matthes. I can elicit nothing of further use from the papyrus, unless οὐ[κ] οὐκασ τῶν ζητουμένων 23, and see on 30 below. The Anon. Seguerianus, which does not mention Hermagoras, distinguishes παρέκβασις from παραδηγησις, and reports Alexander's ridicule of it (364. 21 ff. Sp.-H.); I discern no trace of statements of such import here. Another tradition ascribed the παρέκβασις to Corax, see Hinks, *CQ* 34 (1940) 67. (On the παρέκβασις in general see Volkmann, *Rhet.* 164-7, Lausberg, *Handb.* §§ 340-2, Martin, *Ant. Rhet.* 89-91.)

18 [ο]ἱ ῥήτορες, as the subject of πα[ρ]εκβαίνουσι, perhaps likelier than [ο]ἱ ῥήτορες[κοί] (or ῥητορικῶς).

19-24 See on διαίρεσις and ἔκβασις above.

25 καὶ ἢ διαίρεσις is a possibility, but I have no suggestion for what precedes.

27 After (-) | λα]μβάνονται, ἃ πολλοί is a possible articulation, but it is tempting to recognize mention of Apollodorus or Apollodoreans. A variety of disagreements on matters of rhetorical theory between the Apollodorean and the Theodorean schools is reported, principally by Quintilian and the Anon. Seg.; see esp. Schanz, *Hermes* 25 (1890) 36-54, Grube, *AJP* 80 (1959) 337-65. This in turn encourages recognition of Θεόδωρος at ll. 5 and 33, though it must be said that the reading, while unobjectionable, is not assured at either place. Mention of the proem may be discerned in ll. 28 (| τοῦ] δεικ[α]νικοῦ προοιμί[ου]) and 34. It is known that Apollodorus took a more rigid line than Theodorus with regard to the order and indispensability of the μέρη τοῦ λόγου: on the proem, Anon. Seg. 357-61 Sp.-H., Quint. 4. 1. 24, 50. There is insufficient indication of the precise point or points at issue in the papyrus, but cf. 30 n.

29 ἀ]προδίζειν (l. -δείξειν) εἰ [ἦ] ἀντήρησις?

30 τῆ]ν δὲ ἔκβασις would suit, in which case followed not by ἀντι τῶ]ν but by παντὶ τῶ] (λόγω, with π]ροσεῖναι 31?). Perhaps cf. Quint. 4. 3. 12, of παρέκβασις: *sed haec sunt plures, ut dixi, quae per totam causam varios habent excursus*. Quintilian takes exception to the assignment of the παρέκβασις to a fixed position after the *narratio* (esp. 4. 3. 14; or after the *probatio* [as Hermagoras], cf. 4. 3. 17), and sanctions the use of digression even within the proem. A discussion in some such terms would be at home in the context of Apollodorean-Theodorean disagreement.

33 κινδυνεύει ὅτι Θεόδωρος, -ον? This possibly but not necessarily indicates an anti-Theodorean stance.

34 εἰς προ[ο]μί[ου].

35 e.g. τεκμη[ρ]ία καὶ εἰκότ[α]?

fr. 1 ↓

. . . . . ] abrasion

. . . . . ] . ε . [ c. 8 ] . . . . [

]ινδ. [

10 ]τωμ. [

]ταει. [

] . κυμβα[. ]ιψ[. ] . . . . . [

]εινπε. [

] . ολοζη[

15 ] . ε . . . [

] . λεχομ[

]αμφ . . . [

] . . περι[

]σα . . θ . [ . . ] . . . [

20 ] . επ[

]τη . . . [

] . . . [ . . ] . [ . . . . ] . . . [

]με[ . . ] . [ . . . ] . . νι . οις [

] . . . . . ες[ . . . ] . . μβ . υ [

25 ] . . . . . ε . [ . . . ] . . ελος [

] . . . . . [ . . ] λλ . υ . υ [

] . . . . . κυμφαιρῶ [

]μβανεται . . . δικ . [

]εκαισυμ[ . . . ] . . ε . τι . [

30 ]τροστατε . . εν . οιχε[

] . . ικατα[ . ]εν[ . ]ους . [

] . ληθεις[ . . . ]κα . . . [

]τιν . . . . ες . . [

]ντεειν[

35 ] . . . [

. . . . .

Most of the ink has gone, and such identifications as are made in the transcript are more tentative than would ordinarily be the case. The remains of the first eight lines are so severely rubbed that not a single letter can be identified. 13-22 The papyrus extends as far as the line-ends, but abrasion has removed the ink 14 ], δ, κ, λ? 15 δετος? 17 μφ, or νδ 19 α enlarged, presumably initial; αγαθ-? 23 ]κανικους? 24 κυμβου hardly suggested but acceptable 25 Before ε, upright, τ acceptable 26 ]λλον? ου? 27 Before ζ, εν? 31 ]και? [μ]εν[τ]ους suitable for the space .[, ρ? 32 ], α acceptable ]καταλ[, -δ[?

fr. 1 ↓ 23 ff. Informing the discussion is evidently the standard (Aristotelian) classification of speeches into three genera, τὸ δίκανικόν ('forensic' or 'judicial'), τὸ συμβουλευτικόν ('deliberative'), τὸ ἐπιδεικτικόν ('epideictic', called ἐγκωμαστικόν by the Stoics, DL 7. 42). Reference at least to the first two of these is probably to be recognized here: δίκαν. 23, 28?, συμβουλ. 24, 29. The τέλος (25) of the deliberative was τὸ συμφέρον (27, συμφαιρο(ν) l. συμφέρον): so Aristotle (*Rh.* 1. 3, 1358<sup>b</sup>21 f.), but some jibbed (Cic. *de inv.* 2. 4. 12 f., Quint. 3. 4. 16), and there were other, wider-ranging controversies, both terminological and conceptual (see esp. Quint. 3. 3. 11 ff.). Beyond this, the specifics of the discussion in the papyrus are hardly recoverable.

30f. Perhaps, as Dr Innes suggests, τὰ τέλη, ἔνιοί γε [ in 30, followed in 31 by κατὰ [δ'] ἐν[έ]ουσ. Or 31 could be κατὰ [μ]ὲν [τ]οῦς (ῥήτορας 'rhetoricians?').

32 κατὰ δ[έ]?

fr. 2 →

- ], ο. ενπρω[. . . ]δικους  
 ]ρ[. ]π. νχ[. ]ονο[. . . ], τιαν  
 ].. [ ]εινα[ ]  
 τουπρα[ c. 16 ]ορκα[. . ]ρ. . ς[. . . ]ορ [
- 5
   
 .. δ[. . . ] [ c. 9 ].. [.] , ρ[. . ] , ινολογ[. . ] ροσορογ [
   
 [ ]νομ. π[ c. 9 ] . νπ. . κοπηνητελορσδετρι>
   
 . ]ορς[. ]ξ. [ c. 8 ]ορςδυςπυεζτικωςπροστορη.
   
 . . . . ]χ. . [ c. 7 ]περιεχοντακαθαυτακαλου, [ ] .
   
 . . . . ]ντ. . [ c. 5 ] , προτεροσιδικουσεχειδ[
- 10
   
 . . . . ]τουτ. [ c. 5 ] πομενωντ[. ] ντου[. ] μο[
   
 . . . . . . . [ c. 6 ] ντοντουμαλλ[. . ] , ουτω[
   
 παλιν. . αςτος[. . . ] κουςεχ. . . οπ[. . . . ] , εν[. . . ] .
   
 . αρεπομενου[. . ] , νπροτεροντο[
   
 [. ] ορςυγυπαρχον[. . ] , οδετονομ[. . ] ουκαια. . . . γ̄
- 15
   
 π. . [.] . οληνπαρ[. . . . ] , μα[. . ] , κοναοδ. . [ . . . ] ντι
   
 κειμενω. δ̄εν[. . . . ] , πρ. [.] ]τιεξ[ c. 7 ] ρ[
   
 ειναντιφασινοτ[. . . . ] λ. [.] , αιαν. . [ c. 5 ] . . . [
   
 εχοντοϊσοντο. [ . . . ] γοδ[. . . ] ριεχω. . . . θεαν
   
 τακαλουμενα. . . . ο[. . ] εχξ. [ . . . . ] , γςνμβε
- 20
   
 βηκοτωντο. [ . . . ] υ[. . ] πτ[ c. 13 ] ξ
   
 α[. ] παλιν. . ε[. . . ] . [ . . ] ερο[ c. 15 ] . . .
   
 δ̄. [.] . [.] τητ[. . ] . [ . . . ] τ. [ . . ] . . . . . [ c. 6 ] . . [.] . >
   
 δεδευτερος. [ c. 20 ] . . . [
   
 κηστον. η[. . ] . . . [
- 25
   
 χμαεχ'δ[
   
 ληψιντελοση. [
   
 μνεταιτοπους[ ] . . .
   
 ληνειςφυσιωμα[ ] . . [.] . [
   
 . ] , νοςγιεξθαιπ[ c. 14 ] α. [
- 30
   
 . ] . . . γεινον. . ι. [ c. 9 ] . . . . . τολ. [
   
 . . ετουτελουσδο[. . . ] μ[ c. 4 ] γαι[. ] αντος[
   
 . . . . . γω. [.] . [ c. 10 ] απο. [.] π. . [
   
 εχειδεπροσαυτονδιαφορανεκε[. ] μινγαρτοτ[
   
 λοςουτωςλεγεταιωσαγτελευτεοντιμοριον

- ]. ὁ μὲν πρῶ[τος ἰ]δικοὺς  
 τ[ρ][ό]πον χ[ρ]όνο[ν α]ἰτίαν  
 ]..[ ]εινα[ ]  
 του πρα[ c. 16 ]ορκα[. . ]ρ. . . ς[. . .]ορ  
 5 . . δ[. . .] [ c. 9 ] . . [ . . ] . ρ[. . .] . ἰν ὄλον [μέ]ρος ὄρον  
 ὄ]νομα π[ c. 7 ] ἀρ[χ]ήν προκοπήν τέλος. ὁ δὲ τρι-  
 τ]ορ ε[. . ] ε[. . ] [ c. 8 ] οὖς δυσπευστικῶς πρὸς τὸ πρᾶ-  
 γμα . ]χ. . [ c. 7 ] περιέχον τὰ καθ' αὐτὰ καλούμε-  
 να. το]ύτῳν [δὲ ὁ μὲ]ν πρότερος ἰδικοὺς ἔχει δ' [τό-  
 10 πους,] τὸ{υ} <ν> τῶ[ν παρε]πομένων, τ[ὸ]ν τοῦ [ὁ]μο[ίου, τὸν  
 τῶν ἀντικ[ειμένων]ν, τὸν τοῦ μάλλ[ον·] τούτῳν δ' αὖ  
 πάλιν ἕκαστος [ἰδι]κοὺς ἔχει τ[ό]π[ους, ὁ] μὲν [το]ῦ  
 παρεπομένου [γ', τ]ὸν <τοῦ> πρότερον, τῶ[ν <τοῦ> ὕστερον, τὸν  
 τ]οῦ συνυπάρχον[το]ς, ὁ δὲ τοῦ ὁμο[ίου] καὶ ἀπὸς γ',  
 15 παρ[α]βολήν παρ[άδει]γμα [ε]ἰκόνα, ὁ δὲ τ[ῶν ἀ]ντι-  
 κειμένων δ', ἐν[αντί]α, πρό[ς] τι, ἕξ[ιν καὶ στέ]ρη-  
 ριν, ἀντίφασιν, ὁ <δὲ> τ[οῦ μά]λλ[ον] καὶ ἀπὸς γ', τὸ] περ[ι-  
 ἔχον τὸ ἴσον τὸ ἦ[ττο]ν· ὁ δ[ὲ] π[ε]ριέχων τὰ καθ' ἑαυ-  
 τὰ καλούμενα ἰδικο[ὺς] ἔχει [β', τὸν τ]ῶν συμβε-  
 20 βηκότων τὸν [τῶν] συ[μ]πτ[ωμάτων(?)]· τούτων δ]ἔ  
 α[ὖ] πάλιν ὁ μὲ[ν] π[ρ]ότ[ε]ρο[ς] ἰδικοὺς ἔχει τ[ό]π[ους]  
 δ', π[ο]ι[ό]τη[τ]α[ς], . . . [τ. . .] . . . . . [ c. 6 ] . . [ . . ], ὁ  
 δὲ δεύτερος . [ c. 20 ] . . . [ c. 3  
 κης τὸν τῆ[ς] . . . [ c. 21 ] πρᾶ-  
 25 γμα ἐγδ[ c. 30 ]  
 ληψιν τέλος η. [ c. 22 ] τέ-  
 μνεται τόπους [ c. 21 ] . . .  
 λην εἰς φυσίωμα [ c. 15 ] . . [ . . ] . [ c. 4  
 . ] . νος γίνεσθαι π[ c. 14 ] α. [ c. 6  
 30 . ] . . χεῖνονται . [ c. 9 ] . . . καιτολ. [ c. 3  
 ὁ δὲ τοῦ τέλους δο[. . .] μ[. . .] γαι[. . .] αὐτὸς [ c. 5  
 . . . μένω τ[. . .] [ c. 10 ] ἀπο[. . .] π[. . .] [ c. 6  
 ἔχει δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν διαφορὰν· ἐκε[ῖ] μὲν γὰρ τὸ τ[έ]-  
 λος οὕτως λέγεται ὡς ἂν τελευτῶν τι μόνιον



- 35 . . αγματοσενταυθαδετοτελοςκαιτιανορατ[  
 . . . . . ] . . . . . εικ . [ . . ] ησενεκενγε[ ] νεταιιοδετηςϋπολ[  
 c. 5 ] τ[ . ] ποσοραταιεντηπαρατισινπε[ . . ] τιϋ[  
 c. 8 ] . ιοντιϋπειλη . ακινοιδε[ . . . . ] . [ . . ] . . . . . ροσοδεκαικιλι[ . . ] λεγειπ . . [ . . ]  
 40 ] . . νεξετερας[ . . ] εμασθ . [ . ] καιταυτην[  
 . . . . . ] ξς . . . . . λιουκαθολουτηναν[  
 c. 8 ] . . εξαυτηςκαικαταλα[  
 c. 10 ] νουναυτοθεγπιστευομς . [ . . ]  
 c. 6 ] σθησεωςφανεραταδε . [ . . ]  
 45 c. 9 ] η[ . . ] ε[ . . . . ] εριπανζητηη[  
 ] γπρα[  
 ] τροπονς[  
 ] διογ[ . . ] [ . . ]

The physical condition of the papyrus is so extremely poor, with much derangement and loosening of the fibres, as well as general disintegration, that it is sometimes difficult to fix the position of such traces as remain.

1 ] . , horizontal as of γ or τ . , specks suggesting μ 2 ] . , upright 3 ] . . [ . , indeterminate letter-top traces 4 . . ε[ , much damaged; here and to the left the letters were written on the lower papyrus layer, similarly in 5 5 Before δ, specks on the line and an upright ] . [ , letter-top trace and apparent base line, perhaps δ ] . . [ , traces on the line, second consistent with left-hand corner of δ, in which case perhaps ηδ ] . ρ, oblique descending to base of upright ] . , thin letter-top horizontal, specks below ρρρ, of ρ, tail only 6 After μ, hole with descending oblique emerging to right ] . . , perhaps a cramped χ remade, then an upright some distance from ν 7 ] . [ , upper part of upright 8 ] χ . . [ : these and the remains of the next two lines below are on a detached scrap whose exact position is uncertain; abraded; after χ top of loop or circlet and apparent traces of tail, suggesting ρ, then confused traces perhaps suggesting ν . [ . ] . , consistent with με 9 . . [ , lower part of loop as of α, ο, ω, then scattered specks ροε, supralinear ink between ρ and ο, presumably casual 10 After ] του, confused traces of ink within and above the line, perhaps offsets τ . [ , ο or ω τ[ . ] ν, space better suited to ο than ω 11 *init.*, mostly fect, compatible with second transcript ] . , γ or τ τω[ , or π 12 . . , consistent with εκ Before ε, oblique descending to right as of δ, λ, μ At end, ν or χ 13 ] . , ο or ω 14 ] . , letter-top speck ] ουκαία, the upper parts are on a loose fibre . . . . , specks on severely deranged fibres 15 After π, λο, αρ? 16 Before πρ, curving oblique as of α, λ, μ 17 ε, if ε, upper ink must be discounted . . [ , specks on isolated fibre, τo acceptable ] . . . . [ , first, minimal specks, second possibly ε, third, descender as of ρ 18 ] . [ , ν or η suggested . . . . . , indeterminate traces on loose and twisted fibres 19 . . . . , variously assignable traces on damaged surface, ιδικ acceptable, τροπ not [ . . . . ] , twisted fibre 20 . [ , upright ] . , ε, π, or ε suggested 21 . . , letter-top arc, then top of oblique rising from left as of δ, λ, μ ] . [ , descender 22 . [ . ] . [ , foot of upright, top of upright ] . [ (*alt.*), horizontal at letter-top level . . [ , high speck ] . . . . . [ , letter-top traces, second and last perhaps ν or χ, *εντοιχ*] compatible but unverifiable ] . . [ , indeterminate traces not certainly to be assigned to this line; likewise ] . . [ below 23 ] . [ , foot of upright 24 After ν, foot of upright ] . . [ , fect and tops consistent with τυχ 25 γμα, fibres twisted 26 . [ , ν or χ 27 ] . . . . , undecipherable traces not certainly belonging to this line 29 ] . , ε suggested ] α . [ , enlarged α, then top of short upright as of ν 30 ] . . . . , letter tops, first suggesting upper arm of κ but not excluding ε or ε, next an upright as of ι,

- 35 *πράγματος, ἐνταῦθα δὲ τὸ τέλος καί τι ἀνόρατ[ον*  
*. . . εικ. [ . . ]ης ἔνεκεν γε[ί]νεται. ὁ δὲ τῆς ὑπολ[ή-*  
*ψεως] τ[ό]πος ὁράται ἐν τῇ παρά τισιν πε[ . . ]τιν[ c. 2*  
*c. 8 ]οῖόν τι ὑπειλήφασιν· οἱ δὲ [ . . . ]. [ c. 4*  
*. . . ] . . . ρος· ὁ δὲ Καικίλι[ος] λέγει παρ[ὰ c. 8*  
40 *. . ν ἐξ ἑτέρας [κρ]έμασθα[ι] καὶ ταύτην [ c. 9*  
*. . . ]εξ . . . λίου καθόλου τῆν ἀν[ c. 11*  
*c. 8 ] . . ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ καταλα[ c. 12*  
*c. 10 ]νουν αὐτόθεν πιστευομεν[ c. 6*  
*. . . αἰ]ςθῆσεως φανερά τὰ δε. [ c. 11*  
45 *c. 9 ]η[ . . ]ε[ . . π]ερεῖ πᾶν ζήτη[μα*  
*]ν πρα[*  
*] τρόπον ε[*  
*]διον[ . ]ς[*

third ε or c . . . , traces on lower papyrus layer consistent with τα . . . [ , large ε or θ ] . . . . . , indeterminate specks, then perhaps και 32 . . . . . , letter tops, με possible for last two After ω, τ? ] . . δ, λ, υ? After ρ, π or τ suggested After π, perhaps το or ρα 34 αν: above the back of a an anomalous short diagonal stroke suggesting neither a remade letter nor a cancellation, above γ a tiny dot not evidently deliberate and too small for a cancelling dot 36 ] . . , horizontal as of γ, ε, c, τ, joining oblique descending to right as of δ, λ . . . [ , upright suggesting η, ι, υ (τ excluded) 37 τηπ, left leg of π apparently a cannibalized ι 38 ] . . [ , upper arc as of ε or κ 39 ] . . . , specks on the line, last vertical e.g. ι . . . [ , top of α, δ, λ, then suggestion of circlet as of ο, ρ 40 ] . . , base line as of δ, ζ, ξ, speck on line, ξω or ξαν better than δεν . . . [ . . ] , α[ι] acceptable 41 . . . . . , confused traces on damaged surface, before λ perhaps κ or ο (hardly καικι) 44 . . [ , ε or θ 45 ] . . , δ or λ suggested 48 ] . . [ , letter top suggesting c Below l. 48 the surface is stripped. Comparison with the ↓ side suggests there were a further 13 lines or so to the foot of the column

25 l. ἐκδ- 34 l. τελευταῖον

fr. 2 → 1 ὁ μὲν πρῶ[τος]. I take it this introduces the first group of topoi. τὸ μὲν πρῶτον is not excluded, but 6f. give us ὁ δὲ τρῖ[τος]. The second group, ὁ δὲ δεῦτερος κτλ, must lurk in l. 3 or 4, see below. Sc. τῶν γενικωτάτων τόπων *vel sim.* The trace before ο suggests γ or τ but perhaps admits ε: e.g. τούτων δ]έ.

The unplaced fr. (a) probably belongs somewhere to the left here.

ἰ]δικός. Cf. 9, 12, etc. The word is a cross between εἰδικός and ἴδιος, conventionally emended to εἰδικός by editors of the rhetorical treatises but best left alone, since it has clearly become a word in its own right.

The continuation will be ἐχει τόπους ζ' *vel sim.*, see next n.

2f. τ[ρ]ί[τον] χ[ρ]ό[νον] α]ἰ[τίαν]. Evidently a listing of the category of topoi (*loci*) designated *ante rem* in the *ars* of Consultus Fortunatianus (2. 23; 115. 18-20 Halm, 130. 8-10 Calboli Montefusco): *a persona, a re, a causa* (αἰτία), *a tempore* (χρόνος), *a loco, a modo* (τρόπος), *a materia*. The same list, only without the *locus a re*, is given by Julius Victor (395. 24f. Halm, 32. 17f. Giomini-Celentano), and again by Martianus Capella (278. 16-18 Dick), the latter however evidently copying from Fortunatianus. These topoi correspond to the seven

περιστάσεις (*circumstantiae*; μόρια περιστάσεων for Hermagoras), for which see esp. Aug. *de rhet.* 7 (141. 11 ff. Halm), Hermog. *Inu.* 3. 5 (140. 16 ff. Rabe). There is no canonical order; πρόσωπον and πράγμα probably came first, and ὕλην (or its synonym ἀφορμάς: there is no way of telling which term our author preferred) last. I assume all seven were listed; the only real doubt attaches to πράγμα, since Julius Victor cuts out a *re*, an excision no doubt calculated to eliminate the anomaly of having a *locus a re* within the *loci ante rem* (Volkman, *Rhet.* 209).

3f. End of the first group, beginning of the second: [γέν]ος, as the first item in the Group II list, seems highly probable at the end of 4, see 4-6 n.

For 3-4 (-)εἶνα[ι] | τοῦ πρά[γμα]τος is the obvious restoration. (No room for -εἰν ἄ[πὸ].) Does this relate to the *loci ante rem* (πρότερον?), or to the following *loci in re* (ἐντός?), or to something else again? Theodorus termed the seven peristasis-parts στοιχεῖα τοῦ πράγματος (Aug. *de rhet.* 141. 16 Halm). πρά[γμα]τος is not inevitable: e.g. πρά[γμα] μὴ διπλασιάζειν ἕνεκα, with reference to the exclusion of πράγμα (*res*) from the *ante rem* group (see on 2f. above).

I cannot reconcile the traces that precede [γέν]ος with any obvious guess, or find any plausible reading. We look for a structure on the lines of ὁ δὲ δεύτερος ἰδικούς ἔχει τόπους ἴγ.

For the possibility that the second group of *topoi* are labelled ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος see on 31-5 below.

4-6 The second group (ὁ δὲ τρίτος 6-7). Correspondence with the *loci in re* of Fortunatianus and Victor appears to be close. Fortunatianus reads (2. 23, 115. 21-25 Halm, 130. 11-16 Calboli Montefusco): *in re quot loci sunt? duodecim: a toto, a parte, a genere, a specie, a differentia per septem circumstantias (qui locus recipit in se etiam a maiore ad minus et a minore ad maius), a proprio, a definitione, a nomine, a multiplici appellatione, ab initio, a progressionem vel profectu, a perfectione vel consummatione*. Victor gives only the first eight, followed by a systematic discussion together with examples from Ciceronian speeches (397. 14-399. 11 Halm, 35. 10-37. 24 Giomini-Celentano; the section on *definitio* augmented by extracts from Quintilian). In the papyrus we can reconstruct a list almost identical with the presumable Greek original of Fortunatianus' list. If [γέν]ος | εἶδος stood at the beginning and the other elements of the restoration offered in the articulated transcript are correct, the only discrepancies or queries are:

(i) The 'whole-part' pair comes not at the beginning but before 'definition'.

(ii) What was the Greek term rendered by *multiplex appellatio*, which presumably followed ὄνομα? The Anon. Seg. lists παρόνυμον ('derivative') among the παρακείμενα τῷ ὄρω (383. 18 Sp.-H., see further below), but it seems much more likely that the Latin renders πολυώνυμον. πολυώνυμον is a little longer than my estimate of the size of the lacuna, but probably acceptable.

(iii) What stood between εἶδος and ὄλον in 5? We look for the Greek counterpart of *differentia* and *proprium*: διαφοράν, ἴδιον: but that is not what the papyrus had. The word directly preceding ὄλον was not διαφοράν: I suggest δ[ι]αίρ[ε]σις (see next para.). If that is right, we shall still want 'difference' and 'property'. Nothing stands in the way of supplying δ[ιαφοράν] after εἶδος (δ[ι] is a good reading), but then ἴδιο] is not to be read: the trace suggests ]η: but ἴδι]α would be acceptable. But if ἴδι]α, we might prefer δ[ιαίφορα] to δ[ιαφοράν] (the size of the lacuna is not determinative). (It would be understandable if διαφορα was mistakenly taken by a Latin translator as noun instead of adj.)

διαίρεσις is not represented in Fortunatianus' list (and gives a total of 13 for this group, not 12) but is an unsurprising accession. The list of *topoi* tumultuously tossed off at Arist. *Rh.* 2. 23 includes one ἐκ διαίρεσεως (1398<sup>a</sup>28-32). That is elimination; cf. e.g. Quint. 5. 10. 65-9 (*remotio*). More immediately pertinent may be the place of διαίρεσις *vis-à-vis* definition in the post-Aristotelian systems. In Cic. *Top.* 5. 28, repeated at Quint. 5. 10. 63, we have definition by *divisio* of genus into species and by *partitio* of whole into parts (cf. *de orat.* 2. 39. 164f.); I presume the Greek terms will have been διαίρεσις and μερικὸς. In the comprehensive system proffered by the Anon. Seguerianus (see below), διαίρεσις, as one of the γενικώτατοι τόποι, directly follows ὄρος and comprises καθαρίθρησις, μερικὸς, and ἰδική διαίρεσις (382f. Sp.-H.; the definitions do not quite coincide with Cicero's); cf. Clem. Al. *Strom.* 8. 6. 19. 3. In our papyrus' system διαίρεσις is doubtless meant γενικῶς. Cf. Lausberg, *Handb.* §393, Volkman, *Rhet.* 226-9.

διαίρεσις again in fr. 1 (→ 17), but there as a μέρος τοῦ λόγου, not as a *topos*.

One particular point of contact with Quintilian's discussion of *argumentorum loci* may be noted. At 5. 10. 71, cf. 94, Quintilian gives a brief treatment of *initium*, *incrementum*, *summa*. This trio must be the papyrus' ἀρχή, προκοπή, τέλος. The different choice of Latin terms for these words in Quintilian and Fortunatianus (quoted above) seems to indicate mutually independent derivation from the Greek. Similarly with ὄρος, *finitio vel*

*finis* Quint., *definitio* Fortunat. (It should be said, however, that the same inference is not generally made in the case of Cic. *de inv.* and *ad Her.*, where *διαίρεσις*—the part of speech so called, see on fr. 1 → 14-17 above—is respectively rendered *partitio* and *divisio*.)

Quintilian's system is in fact essentially identical with our papyrus', as a glance at his skeletal summary at 5. 10. 94 strikingly shows. The *argumenta a personis causis locis tempore facultatibus modo* (*rebus*, which subsumes all but *personis*, is absent, cf. Julius Victor) correspond to the first group, while *fnitione, genere specie, differentibus propriis, remotione divisione, initio incremento summa*, correspond to the second; for what follows see on 9-18 below. While 'name' and 'polyonym' are not in this list, *ἔτυμολογία* was present in the more detailed treatment at 5. 10. 55, in association with 'definition'. All Quintilian's examples are Latin, but at least the outline of his presentation must derive from a Greek system classified in the same way as in our papyrus.

The system transmitted in the Anon. Seg. (382-4 Sp.-H. = Caccilius fr. 26 Ofenloch) has ten γενικώτατοι τόποι: ὄρος, διαίρεσις, παράθεσις, ευστοιχία, περιοχή, ὁμοιον, παρεπόμενον, μάχη, δύναμις, κρίσις. The first two of these correspond to this second group of ours. ὄρος is divided into (a) δλόκληρος ὄρος, (b) τὰ ἐν τῷ ὄρω, and (c) τὰ παρακείμενα τῷ ὄρω, of which (b) comprises γένος, <εἶδος> (add. Volkmann), ἴδιον, διαφορά (also ὄλον, μέρος), perhaps, but cf. Quint.) and (c) comprises ἔτυμολογία, παρώνυμον, ἐπιθετον, ὑποκοριστικόν. In our papyrus system the various constituents of the Anon. Seg.'s τὰ ἐν τῷ ὄρω enjoy equal footing with ὄρος, as too do ὄνομα and π[ολυώνυμον], which correspond to the Anon. Seg.'s παρακείμενα τῷ ὄρω. ἀρχή προκοπή τέλος are additional. Minucian's list of topoi, 343. 24-344. 11 Sp.-H., is an unsorted jumble, but most of this group's components are present, except, again, the final trio. Apsines' collection, 285. 9-289. 17 Sp.-H., is further removed.

6-9 ὁ δὲ πρῶ[τ]ος is the starting-point. If my reconstruction is on the right lines, this third group is divided in two, each division then being further subdivided. Such a scheme is suggested by (i) πρότερος 9, and (ii) the apparent recurrence of περιέχων τὰ καθ' αὐτὰ καλούμενα at 18f. This leads to το]ύτων [δὲ (A) ὁ μὲ]ν πρότερος κτλ 9, (B) ὁ δ[ὲ] πρ[ώ]τερος κτλ 18. In 7-8, then, we look for initial identification of the twofold division. The second limb of the introductory formulation is straightforward enough, except inasmuch as I suspect we should write in 8 not τὸ δὲ] περιέχων but τὸν δὲ] περιέχων<τα>, an easy haplographic loss. The first limb is more difficult. In view of 7 ]ου, ξ[χ]ξ[ι] [τοὺς μὲν τόπ]ου<ς> - - ξ[χ]ου[τα]ς may be thought of, but τὸν μὲν, the singular, seems indicated by ὁ μὲ]ν πρότερος below. [τὸν μὲν τόπ]ου<ς> δυσπνευτικῶς πρὸς τὸ πρᾶ[γμα] ξ[χ]ου[τα] would satisfy space and traces, but does not seem meaningful. δυσπνευτικῶς, an addendum *lexicis*, adds to the problem. It is a fairly secure reading (the sigma before tau looks a bit odd but the combination is similarly formed elsewhere; δ could be α but ἀδ स्पνευτικῶς hardly helps), presumably a compound of πνευτικῶς (only φιλο- is attested) rather than of स्पνευτικῶς. Emendation to δυσπ(ε)ιστικῶς (unattested) is not attractive; I see no help in the fact that Hermagoras defined the orator's function as τὸ τεθὲν πολιτικὸν ζήτημα διατίθεσθαι κατὰ τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον πειστικῶς (SE M. 2. 62 = Hermag. I fr. 4 Matthes). Dr Innes suggests that one might think of δυσωπητικῶς 'persuasively' (see Lampe, PGL s.v. for this meaning), and compares Max. Plan. In Hermag. Inv., Rhet. Gr. v 395. 19 Walz, where ἐπιχειρήματα are classified as either διδασκαλικά or δυσωπητικά μόνον, the example of the latter kind being the 'likeness' group which in the papyrus appears at 14f. below. That too would require emendation. Could τόποι δυσπνευτικῶς πρὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα ἔχοντες mean topoi whose relation to the matter (πρᾶγμα in the technical forensic sense, Lat. *res* or *negotium*) is not vulnerable to interrogation?

However this may be, the topoi of this IIIA group, which I take to be occupying ll. 9-18, correspond to the constituents of Fortunatianus' entire third group, designated *circa rem*. See further on 9-18 below.

8f. τὸν δὲ] περιέχων<τα> τὰ καθ' αὐτὰ καλούμε[να]. Cf. 18ff., where apparently subdivided into *συμβεβηκότα* and *συμπτώματα*(?). A number of definitions of καθ' αὐτὰ as applied to attributes are given at Arist. APo. 1. 4, but there firmly distinguished from *συμβεβηκότα*. The closest approximation to a category of 'absolutes' in extant topos-theory seems to be in Quintilian, see intro.

9-18 If the proffered reconstruction is essentially correct, the IIIA group of topoi, however designated, had two further degrees of subdivision:

- (i) τὰ παρεπόμενα (or τὸ παρεπόμενον), comprising τὸ πρότερον, τὸ ὕστερον, τὸ συνυπάρχον (10, 13);
- (ii) τὸ ὁμοιον, comprising παραβολή, παράδειγμα, εἰκὼν (10, 14);
- (iii) τὰ ἀντικείμενα, comprising ἐναντία, πρὸς τι, ἕξις καὶ στέρησις, ἀντίφασις (11, 15f.); and
- (iv) τὸ μᾶλλον, comprising τὸ περιέχων, τὸ ἴσον, τὸ ἥττον (11, 17). This is a rationally organized complex, and one which it may be suggested underlies the less systematically presented set of *loci circa rem* in Fortunatianus and Julius Victor as well as others elsewhere with which the correspondence is less close.

Fortunat. 2. 23 (115. 26-116. 2 Halm, 130. 13-131. 4 Calboli Montefusco): *circa rem quot loci sunt? decem. a simili, cuius species sunt quinque: exemplum, similitudo, fabula, imago, exemplum verisimile, id est quod de comoedia sumitur; addunt quidam et apologos, ut sunt Aesopi fabulae. qui sunt alii circa rem loci? a dissimili, a pari, a contrario per positionem et negationem, ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς τι, id est ad aliquid, quod figuratur casibus quattuor, quibus colligimus coniuncta et copulata, id est genetivo dativo accusativo ablativo; ab inter se collidentibus per habitationem et amissionem, id est ἐξω καὶ εἰσὲν, a maiore ad minus, a minore ad maius, a precedenti, ab eo quod simul est vel a coniunctis, {vel} a consequentibus. It is now I think evident that this list is informed by the quadripartition found in the papyrus. *simile* corresponds to τὸ ὅμοιον (*dissimile* will be intrusive); *par* (= τὸ ἴσον) together with *maius ad minus* and *minus ad maius* constitute τὸ μᾶλλον (*par* will have been displaced from its proper position for the sake of opposition with *contrarium*); τὰ ἀντικείμενα are slightly mangled (*positio* and *negatio* will render κατάφασις and ἀπόφασις, which together equal ἀντίφασις); τὰ παρεπόμενα conclude. (Volkmann's excision of *vel*, which despite its absence from the duplicate passage at Mart. Cap. 279. 10 Dick is retained by J. Martin, *Antike Rhetorik* 116, is clearly right.) The tally of '10' (there are in fact 11: was the tally made before the addition of *dissimile*?) is presumably subsequent.*

Julius Victor, who proceeds to a systematic presentation of examples (some Demosthenic, some Ciceronian) arranged by *status*, evidently used the same source as Fortunatianus. Fruitful comparisons could also be made with Cic. *de inv.* 1. 41 and Quint. 5. 10. 73 ff., 94, and with the hotchpotch of *topoi* catalogued by Minuc. i 343. 24-344. 11 Sp.-H.

The four subsets correspond closely to four of the ten γενικώτατοι τόποι of the system transmitted by the Anon. Seg. 382. 11-384. 4 Sp.-H.: τὸ παρεπόμενον, divided into τὰ πρὸ τοῦ πράγματος, τὰ ἐν τῷ πράγματι, and τὰ μετὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα; τὸ ὅμοιον, divided κατὰ τὴν ποιότητα and κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν; ἡ μάχη, with τὰ ἐναντία and τὰ ἀντικείμενα as its παρακείμενα; and ἡ παράθεσις, divided into τὸ μᾶλλον, τὸ ἦττον, and τὸ ἴσον. Of these, two differ from the papyrus' classifications only in terminology (τὸ παρεπόμενον, ἡ παράθεσις), two in substance.

So much for comparanda of the IIIA quartet as a whole. A few very brief remarks on their components:

(i) τὰ παρεπόμενα. A familiar and much discussed trio. Among the antecedents is *Rh. Al.* 1430<sup>b</sup>32, cf. Arist. *APr.* 2. 27, 70<sup>a</sup>8-10.

(ii) τὸ ὅμοιον. Again, παραβολή, παράδειγμα, εἰκὼν are a familiar trio. Lat. *collatio, exemplum, imago* (Cic. *de inv.* 1. 49, cf. Victorin. ad loc., 228. 10 ff. Halm). Trypho π. τρόπων, which may however be later than the papyrus, so classified ὁμοίωσις; cf. Neocles *ap. Max. Plan. In Hermog. Inv., Rh. Gr.* v 395 Walz. Elsewhere παραβολή itself is the generic term. Lausberg, *Handb.* §422, M. H. McCall, *Anc. Rhet. Theories of Simile and Comparison*. I take it that *fabula, exemplum verisimile*, and *apologi* in Fortunatianus' list are accretions.

(iii) τὰ ἀντικείμενα. This is more interesting, inasmuch as the papyrus preserves this quartet intact from Aristotle (csp. *Cat.* 10, 11<sup>b</sup>16-20, with *de interp.* 6, 17<sup>b</sup>33). The source of Fortunatianus and Julius Victor evidently had not ἀντίφασις but its equivalent duo κατάφασις and ἀπόφασις. On Cicero's comparable treatment of *contraria* (esp. *de inv.* 1. 42, *Top.* 47-9) see Riposati, *Studi sui 'Topica'* 108-13.

(iv) τὸ μᾶλλον, *comparatio*, distinct from τὸ ὅμοιον, *simile*; Lausberg, *Handb.* §395. Cf. ultimately Arist. *Top.* 2. 10, ἐκ τοῦ μᾶλλον καὶ ἦττον. τὸ [ε]ἶχον in the papyrus, if rightly restored, is not a normal term for the τόπος of 'the greater' (μᾶλλον vs. ἦττον, μείζον vs. ἔλαττον, *maius* vs. *minus*), but μᾶλλον was preempted for hierarchically higher form. Cf. Quint. 5. 10. 90, *ex eo quod continet ad id quod continetur*, the Anon. Seg.'s γενικώτατος τόπος of ἡ περιοχὴ, 383. 8-10 Sp.-H., and Minucian's *topos ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐμπεριεχομένου*, 344. 5, 347. 26-348. 3 Sp.-H.; but this is a different *topos* from the 'equal-lesser-greater', as is clear from Minucian.

18-24 Cf. on 8 above. This is the IIIB group, 'the (*topos*) comprising the so-called self-existents', apparently subdivided into (1) *συμβεβηκότα* and (2) *συμπτώματα*(?). *συ[μ]π[τ]ωμάτων* is a guess which cannot be verified but fits the traces well. The *συμβεβηκότα* are the fourth of Aristotle's predicables, along with *ἄρος*, *ἴδιον*, and *γένος*, which are all *topoi* in the papyrus' group II (*Top.* i 4 ff.). But if the partner is the *συμπτώματα*, the most significant passage may be Epicur. *Ep.* 1 (*ap.* DL 10) 68-73, which treats of a body's *συμβεβηκότα* and *συμπτώματα* in an apparently anti-Stoic polemic. The papyrus' classification of *συμβεβηκότα* and *συμπτώματα*(?) as καθ' ἑαυτά runs counter both to Peripatetic and to Epicurean doctrine, and may be derived in some fashion from Stoicism; though it would probably be a mistake to seek strict philosophical underpinnings to the system here outlined, which in any case is clearly eclectic. Without knowing what the constituents of the two subgroups are it is futile to try to go further.

(1) τὰ συμβεβηκότα. If I have correctly recovered the structure (the starting-point for the reconstruction is α[δ] πάλην 21), the components of the IIIB(1) subgroup, the συμβεβηκότα, occupied l. 22, which is almost wholly destroyed. They were four in number (22 *inil.*). π[ο]ι[δ]ο[τ]η[τ]α for the first is a guess consistent with the traces. If right, ποσότης may have followed. (Cf. esp. Quint. 3. 6. 49, 51, 7. 4. 15–16.) The damaged letter-top traces transcribed as ] . . . . . ] will perhaps yield ερετριχ[ε]ων ‘correspondence’. ευστοιχία is one of the Anon. Seg.’s ten γενικώτατοι τόποι (383. 5–8 Sp.–H.): ἡ δὲ ευστοιχία πραγμάτων κοινωνίαν καὶ ὀνομάτων δηλοῦς ευστοιχεῖν γὰρ ἀλλήλοις λέγομεν ὡς τὴν φρόνησιν καὶ τὸν φρόνιμον. (This is evidently based on Aristotle, cf. esp. *Top.* 2. 9, 114<sup>b</sup>26 ff. *εὐστοιχα δὴ λέγεται τὰ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν εὐστοιχίαν ἅπαντα, οἷον δικαιοσύνη δίκαιος δίκαιον δικαίως.*) Given ποιότης and ποσότης, πηλικότης might be considered for the fourth, but there is no way of testing. Minucian’s miscellaneous list of topoi (343. 24–344. 1 Sp.–H.) includes πηλικότης and ποσότης but none of the others under consideration here. Another suggestion, based on ευστοιχία, is offered below.

There are possible points of contact here with the tail-piece that Fortunatianus appends to his presentation of the quadripartite system, 2. 24. *Sunt et alii, quos apud varios auctores artium invenimus.* These include *qualitas* and *quantitas*, and also a *locus* ἀπὸ τῆς εὐζυγίας, *id est a coniugatione sive coniugatis, quod quasi iunctum est personae qualitati, ut si eum, qui hostilia sentiat, hostem iudicandum esse dicamus.* Is not this εὐζυγία identical with the Anon. Seg.’s ευστοιχία? If so, not only is some comfort given to the notion that ποιότης, ποσότης, and ευστοιχία may be grouped here in the papyrus (for the *locus a coniugatione*, Gk. εὐζυγία, see also Cic. *Top.* 3. 12, criticized by Quint. 5. 10. 85, and see Ripsosati, *Studi sui Topica* 91–4), but also another possibility is opened up for the fourth member, for Fortunatianus continues with the *locus a coniunctis, id est ἀπὸ τῶν ὀπόμενων καὶ συνθέτων, ut fasces, lictores, toga praetexta, sella curulis, imperia, provinciae magistratuum ornamenta sunt.* Calboli Montefusco, following Halm, labels the Greek ‘irremediabilmente corrotto’, but the various manuscript readings seem to point to ἀπὸ τῶν πτώσεων, which is in fact the vulgate reading in the duplicate passage in Martianus Capella (5. 559, p. 279. 16 Dick, where Halm conjectured ἀπὸ τῶν προσηκόντων and Dick prints ἀπὸ τυπώσεων), and this seems to me definitively confirmed by Aristotle’s usage in *Top.* and *Rhet.*, where εὐστοιχία and πτώσεις are closely related. (Cf. also Fortunatianus’ gloss on the *circa rem* locus ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς τι, quoted on 9–18 above.) The terminology is grammatical, and unless there is a lacuna before *ut fasces*, the fasces etc. count as a magistracy’s inflections and compounds. Perhaps therefore πτώσεις or σύνθεσις went in tandem with ευστοιχία in the papyrus.

(2) τὰ συμπτώματα(?). The number of topoi in this, the IIIB(2) subgroup, is unknown. If what follows ὁ δὲ δεύτερος is a numeral, it will be either γ’ (= 3), η’ (= 8), or ι[(-)] (= 10–19); but also possible is ἰ[δικόν]ος ἔχει τόπους x, or κ[αὶ αὐτὸς δ’]. For 23–4, given |κ|ης and the acceptability of τυχ[ε], it is tempting to recognize τὸν τῆς ἀνάγ|κ|ης, τὸν τῆ[ε] τύχ|η[ε]. If so, it may be relevant, at least indirectly, that ἀνάγκη, τύχη, and ἄγνοια were subheads of Hermagoras’ *συγγνώμη* (*purgatio: ad Her.* 2. 23 ff., Cic. *de inv.* 2. 94 ff., cf. Quint. 7. 4. 14–15; cf. Matthes, *Lustrum* 3 (1958) 162 f.). Thus ὁ δὲ δεύτερος ἰ[δικόν]ος ἔχει τόπους γ’, τὸν τῆς ἀνάγ|κ|ης, τὸν τῆ[ε] τύχ|η[ε], τὸν τῆς ἄγνοίας? But no reliance can be put on this, and the total result, which has ἀνάγκη etc. classed as συμπτώματα, is not one that greatly recommends itself.

24 ff. At this point I lose track of the structure. Fortunatianus’ *circa rem* group is followed by a fourth and final group, the *loci post rem*, just two in number, *eventus* and *iudicatum*. There is no sign of these in the papyrus—unless the unplaced fr. (b) belongs somewhere hereabouts. *eventus* renders ἔκβασις (lost from Fortunatianus, but given by Victor 6. 4; cf. Quint. 5. 10. 86, Minuc. 347. 16–26 Sp.–H.), and at fr. (b) → 2 (= fr. 2 → 26?) ἡ ἔκβα[σις] offers itself. But I can make nothing more of this. (This ἔκβασις will have no connection with that of fr. 1 → 17, 30, which is a μέρος τοῦ λόγου.)

26 -ληψίν τέλος: two items in a list of topoi? For τέλος, cf. 31–6 below; and the following sentence there, 36–8, on the topos ὑπόληψις, invites recognition of ὑπόληψιν here, rather than one of the many other -ληψις compounds with rhetorical significance. Then at 26 f. something—one of the aforementioned topoi? ἡ ἔκβασις?—is divided into (sub)topoi: εἰς x τέ|μνεται τόπους. One of these subtopoi is φυσίωμα (28), another ends in -λη (28 *inil.*; the traces at the end of 27, even if rightly located, are useless). After τέλος in 26 apparently ηυ[ ] or ηχ[ ] (not ἡ δ[ε]; ἡ ὑπόληψις δὲ is thinkable, to provide the subject of τέμνεται, but I should have expected rather ἡ δὲ ὑπόληψις, if not τούτων δὲ ἡ ὑπόληψις).

I can offer no cogent integration of these data, with or without ἔκβασις. φυσίωμα ‘natural tendency, bent’, is cited by *LSJ* only for Hipparch. *ap. Stob.* 4. 44. 81 (pl.). Or it could be φυσίωμα (not in *LSJ*, but used by Hippolytus Romanus, see Lampe, *PGL* s.v.); unlikely, even if Philodemus speaks of ὑπολήψεις πεφουσιωμένα, *de mus.* p. 26 K. -λη is conceivably διαβολή (cf. Arist. *Rh.* 3. 15, *Rh. Al.* 29, 1436<sup>b</sup>38–37<sup>b</sup>33). On ὑπόληψις see further on 36 ff. below.

31-6 ὁ δὲ τοῦ τέλους δο[κεῖ] μ[έν] εἶ[ναι] [ὁ] αὐτὸς [τῷ] προ[ειρημένω] τ[έ]λ[αι] would fit spaces and traces well and make good sense in view of the continuation in 33-5. The τέλος just mentioned (26) is distinguished from the earlier τέλος, evidently that of l. 6, as the definition given in 34f. confirms. The rest of l. 32 may give a more specific reference for 'the aforementioned τέλος'. ἀπὸ τ[οῦ] πρά[γματος] would suit nicely at the line-end; preceded by e.g. τῷ ἐν τοῖς? Does this give us the name of the second group of topoi, sought in 3-4 above? It seems at least as appropriate a designation as the *loci in re* of the Latin *artes*. ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος would normally imply simply the πρόσωπον/πράγμα distinction fundamental to topos-theory, but here probably the preposition is also significant, contrast πρὸς τὸ πράγμα in the definition of the third group, 7f.

I am not sure what to make of the superfluous ink associated with *an* in 34. It may reflect an intention to write *ἀνανεῖ*, as Dr Innes suggests.

ἀνόρατ[ον]: ἀόρατον would be the expected orthography.

What preceded ἐνεκεν in 36? The letter after κ is definitely not τ, so not e.g. -δεικτικῆς. τ]έλει would suit the beginning, as far as space and traces go.

36ff. ὁ δὲ τῆς ὑπολ[ήψεως] τ[ό]πος: restored largely on the basis of 38 ὑπελήφασιν, cf. also 26 -ληψιν. After παρά τινιν, πε[ρί]τι l. πίστει is possible, but I should suppose rather πε[ρί] τιν[ος] or τιν[ων], followed by either ὑπολήψει itself (the line-division probably at ὑ] or ὑπο]) or a quasi-synonym, e.g. δόξη or ἐννοία. To that, οἶον or ὁποῖον τι ὑπελήφασιν is apparently appended, on the face of it a gratuitous and muddling addition, but οἶον "τί ὑπελήφασιν;" is surely out of the question. Does οἶ δὲ introduce a competing definition? τινος makes an acceptable reading in 39, but not I think περί τινος. Then Caecilius.

I do not find ὑπόληψις as a topos attested elsewhere, and ὑπόληψις enjoys no regular place in the rhetorical literature. At a guess, the seminal text is again Arist. *Rh.*: 1416<sup>b</sup>36, τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τὸ λέγειν ὅσα δηλώσει τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἢ ὅσα ποιήσει ὑπολαβεῖν γεγονέναι κτλ (is this the ultimate basis for such distinctions as Apollodorus' between πραγματικόν and περὶ ἐννοίας, Quint. 3. 6. 35<sup>2</sup>), or 1395<sup>d</sup>10-11, on the value of *gnomai*, δεῖ στοχάζεσθαι ποῖα τυγχάνουσι προῦπολαμβάνοντες, εἰδ' οὕτως περὶ τούτων καθόλου λέγειν. This is taken up especially by Hermog. *Inn.* 1. 1, where proocmia ἐξ ὑπολήψεως are extensively treated. Intermediate Stoic influence should not be discounted; Chrysippus wrote π. ὑπολήψεως; cf. καταλα[μβαν]- or -λα[β]- in 42. Cf. also αἰ]εθήσεως 44.

Caecilius is presumably C. of Cale Acte, who is known to have written on technical rhetoric (Quint. 3. 1. 15). The transmitted form of the name in Greek is regularly Κεκέλιος; ai/e confusion in our papyrus is evidenced at 2 → 34, ↓ 14 (ε for αι) and at 1 ↓ 27 (αι for ε), cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 192f. The papyrus testimony, whatever it may have been, is new, and I cannot relate it to any of the testimonia attributed to Caecilius' τέχνη ῥητορικῆ in E. Ofenloch's edition of his *Fragmenta*. (The attribution is in most cases extremely dubious; and it may be noted that on the criteria for Caecilian ascription applied by Ofenloch, following Angermann, our papyrus would itself be so ascribed.) After λέγει, παρ[ ] is reasonably certain, though only the tops of the letters survive. Though the estimate of letters lost from the end of the line can only be approximate, the space limitations constrict the scope for restoration. παρ[ ] ἄ πᾶσιν δό]ξαν ἐξ ἑτέρας [κρ]έμασθα[ι] may indicate at least the construction. δό]ξαν (let alone the content of the preceding lacuna) is not assured. In 41, I do not think Καικιλίου is to be read, but I do not know what is.

43f. e.g. τὰ μὲ]ν οὖν αὐτόθεν πιστευόμεν[ ] ἄ ἐστιν (or εἶναι) | ἐκ τῆς αἰ]εθήσεως φανερά, κτλ? τὰ δὲ ἐ]κ τῆς ὑπολήψεως? Relevant here may be Quint. 5. 10. 12, *pro certis autem habemus, primum quae sensibus percipiuntur* (cf. 44 αἰ]εθήσεως?) . . . , *deinde ea, in quae communi opinione consensus est* (cf. ὑπόληψις?), etc.

45 For the meaning of ζήτημα, Lat. *quaestio*, in rhetorical writings, see esp. Quint. 3. 11.

48 Διορ[ ]ε]ι- is a possibility that may be worth raising. Mention of D. of Halicarnassus in such a context, and in the vicinity of Caecilius, would not surprise, cf. e.g. Quint. 3. 1. 16. But e.g. ε]ιδιον is also possible.







- ἐὰν ἐμ. . . . [ . ] . το δὲ δευ[ c. 22 ] ν ἐ-  
 χθρὸς [ . ] καιν[ . . . ] εα[ . . ] ν . . [ c. 20 ] ἀττο(ν)-  
 τα, ἐὰν ἐν βα[ c. 25 ] ] μέθη(ν),  
 5 ἐὰν παρὰ δ[ι]αφοράν, ἐὰν [ c. 15 ] α[ . ] ων[ . ] κτος  
 ἐστι χρη[ . ] ος, συνθήκη, α. [ . ] . . . [ . ] . . [ . . παροι]μία, ποιητι-  
 κὸν ἀπ[ό]φθεγμα[α].  
 περὶ πιστευτικῶν ἐπιχ[ειρημά]των  
 τ[οῦ]των οὖν οὕτως ἐχόντων ἐπ[ c. 5 λ]αμβ[ c. 5  
 . . τ]έχων πίστ[ε]ων ἐλθὼν μ[ c. 7 ]μια[ . ]ατε  
 10 c. 5 ]ος δ[ . . . ]πος ἐ[στ]ιν ὁ περὶ [μάρτυ]ρο[ς]. ἐὰν μὲν οὖ(ν)  
 c. 6 ]ν[ . . ω]μεν κατασκευ[ά]σομεν ὅτι φ[ίλο]ς τοῖς  
 ἀντιδίκο[ι]ς[ c. 7 ]μῶν δὲ ἐχθρό[ι]ς, ὅ[τι] ἄπειρος τοῦ πράγμα-  
 τος, ὅ[τι] . . [ . ]ε[ . ο] ὑδενὸς ἄξι[ο]ς, ὅ[τι] ἀναγκαζόμενος,  
 ὅτι ε. [ . . ]γα[ . ]οτε τούτῳ μαρ[τυ]ρήσας, ὅτι κερδένω(ν)  
 15 ἐκ τ[οῦ] μαρτυρ[ῆ]σαι κ. . . . . δε πλεοναχῶς, ἦτοι  
 . . λ[ c. 8 ] μέλλων [ἦ . . . ]κεν[α]ζόμενος περὶ  
 ἴδιο[ c. 7 ] . . . . ὕ[ . . . . ]ρίας ὑπὲρ δὲ αὐτοῦ  
 τοῖς [ c. 8 ] . . . . [ . . . . ] ἐὰν δὲ γίτονας μάρτυ-  
 ρας [ c. 8 ] . . . [ . ] . . . . σης ἡμετέρας οἱ  
 20 κξα[ c. 8 ] . . . . [ . . ] ἐὰν καπήλους καὶ  
 ἐὰν [ c. 11 ] . . [ . . ο]ὑ[δ]ενὸς ἀξί[ο]ς, ὅ-

12 l. ἄπειρος

14 l. κερδαίνων

τ[ c. 13 ]. [ c. 7 ]υκενπ[. δουρι>  
 . [ c. 21 ]. σαριστουσεκ'λεξ  
 c. 23 ]μενϋπεραυ  
 25 c. 5 ]... [ c. 16 ]ονονου. [.]... δε[[  
 . [....]. [ c. 17 ]πωναπο. ες[[  
 . [....]... [ c. 15 ]. αμαρταγει[[  
 ....]... [.]... αμ. [ c. 9 ]. [.]ητα [ ]πונהραυ[[  
 ..]... [.]... ατην. [..]ιουσιαναφισεταιεαν. . [ ]η... δια... φωνποιης. [.]καιτηνϋδιανδιαλημψιν  
 30 ..]η... εχρρ. υ[.]νεστινπενησεστινδεαυτητηοδι  
 ..]... ρ... δεεναντι[.]νπανεπαυτων. πιτη[.]  
 ..]... ρρ[.]... ποιησομενπεριδεορκουσκεψο[.]ε[.].  
 ...]απο[...]. νυωνδιδιδαιμωναθεοσπ[...]. υ[[  
 35 c. 8 ]. τυχωνατυχωνγερωνηεφ[[  
 c. 9 ]. οκωσμητηναμιζονακινδ[[  
 c. 10 ]. προδη[.]. ναισχυν[.]νκατα[[  
 c. 10 ]αλεγειντογαρεναντ[.]... [[  
 c. 10 ]πραχθενταενανα... ε[[  
 40 c. 9 ]. . απιστευεσθαια[ ]ρου[.]. . . [[  
 c. 9 ]ειναιϋνααπ[.]ζη. α[ ]φη[.]ομ. [[  
 c. 8 ]εστιντ[.] c. 8 ]αϊν[.]. φν[[  
 c. 8 ]τησωμ. [ c. 10 ]περ[.]να[[  
 c. 8 ]τατηνο[ c. 8 ]γα... [.]ε. [[  
 45 c. 7 ]. [.] ακισψευ[ c. 8 ]. . λ. [[  
 c. 7 ]. ε. αιησπ[ c. 11 ]. [.]

22 τ[ or π ]υ, characteristic high near-horizontal rising to top of κ [.] , ο, in which case π[.]ο, or ω, in which case πω, suggested 23 [.] , arc as of ο, not excluding ε, σ, others [.] , υ acceptable  
 25 After ου a horizontal, lower than would be expected for τ [.] . . , tops, second perhaps υ 26 After πω, left half of λ, χ? 27 Before αμ, upper part of upright 28 After μ, loop of α? [.] [.] , arc on the line, ε? 29 Before α, υ? After ην, η or π suggested [.] [.] , traces on damaged surface, πω? prob. line-end 30 After α, υτ acceptable but unverifiable [.] , θ or ε 31 After η, υ suggested, then μεχρυν[υ]ν acceptable, also χρον[ο]ν 32 Before ρ, an upright, ι? Before δε, perhaps τω, preceded by upright (αι?) 33 ]τηγορ? but the following traces are difficult and not compatible with any obvious guess 34 [.] , μ acceptable 37 Before π, two faint traces suggesting nothing but κ, perhaps admitting α [.] [.] , [λ]ο acceptable 38 [.] . . [.] , first ο or ω, [ι]ον or [ι]ωσ acceptable, then perhaps τ 39 [.] . . . , upper parts of γκ? then hole and specks close to line, η rather than αι? 40 [.] . . , ντ? [.] [.] , perhaps εν 41 Between η and α, anomalous traces, among them a letter-top horizontal [.] [.] , consistent with ε 42 [.] [.] , perhaps ι followed by upright [.] [.] , foot as of τ 43 [.] [.] , of vowels ο suggested 44 [.] [.] , στ? [.] [.] , letter-top horizontal 45 [.] [.] , oblique suitable for λ Coming in to λ, mid-stroke of ε? 46 [.] [.] , acute angle at upper right, ζ? Before α, horizontal as of τ



- c.* 7 ] . πικτευς[  
*c.* 8 ] πτοιδια . [  
*c.* 8 ] ανξιντω[  
50 *c.* 9 ] απ[ . ] στοι[  
*c.* 10 ] ανηδ[  
*c.* 10 ] . ητοδε[  
*c.* 10 ] . ντ . οχ[  
*c.* 11 ] οπους[  
55 *c.* 11 ] αραςκ[  
*c.* 11 ] ρνδε[  
*c.* 12 ] . . . το[

47 ] . , or ] . ι  
 consistent with α

48 ] . , horizontal as of τ  
 After τ, top of possible upright, ι suggested by space

50 ] α, or λ

53 ] . , trace joining foot of ν,  
 χ almost beyond doubt

	c. 7	] . ι πικτευ[
	c. 8	] πτοι διὰ τ[
	c. 8	] αγγελιν τῶ[
50	c. 9	] απ[ι]στοι[
	c. 10	] αγγελδ[
	c. 10	] . ητοδε[
	c. 10	] Ἄντιοχ[
	c. 11	] ὄπους[
55	c. 10	π]αρασκ[ευ
	c. 11	] ον δε[
	c. 12	] . . . το[

fr. 2 ↓ 1-6 I cannot recover the drift. In 1 perhaps τὸ δὲ δεύ[τερον, unless δεχ[όμενον. Are strings of ἕανς to be recognized? 1 ἕαν ἐμφορ[ο]ς, 1-2 ἕαν ἐχθρός [ῆ] καὶ ν[έος], ἕαν κτλ? 2-3 e.g. (-)πρ[ό]ατο(ν)τα, masc. sing. or neut. pl.? 3 *fin.* μέθη(ν); perhaps cf. e.g. Cic. *Top.* 75, *vinolentia* in a context of 'extrinsic' proofs, *Rh. Al.* 1429<sup>a</sup>18. 3 βα[σαν], or (Innes) βα[σαν]-? Dr Innes, comparing Hermog. 29. 12 ff. Rabe, suggests a list of different kinds of *πρόσωπα*. Perhaps what is under discussion, at least down to 4, is the exploitation (by the defence?) of the particular circumstances of the deed. 4 *παρὰ διαφοράν* 'because of a dispute'? The list at the end may be of a class of 'outside' things, [ἐ]κτός 4 *fin.*, from which arguments can be drawn. Cf. esp. Quint. 5. 11. 36-44, on outside sources of *aucloritas*: *παροιμίαι* 'proverb' ~ *ea quae vulgo recepta sunt* (41), *ποιητικόν ἀπ[ό]φθεγμα[α]* 'poetic saying' ~ *sententiae poetarum* (39-40). This is the category of *κρίσις* (Quint. *ibid.* 36, Hermog. *progymn.* 23, p. 8. 7 Rabe, quoting a Hesiodic apophthegm, Anon. Seg. 384. 2 Sp.-H.). Before *συνθήκη* I see no plausible alternative to *χρη[σμι]ός*, though that makes an extremely cramped reading. Cf. Quint. *ibid.* 42 *ponitur a quibusdam et quidem in parte prima deorum aucloritas, quae est ex responsis*, Anon. Seg. loc. cit. *κρίσις δὲ ληφθήσεται ἀπὸ θεῶν . . . συνθήκη* one might expect to find among the 'inartificial' proofs, which are treated in the next section (see on 8 ff. below), but it is in place here if imagined as without direct bearing on the case; NB Quint. *ibid.* 43-4 (and for *χρησμός* cf. 5. 7. 35).

7 *περὶ πιστευτικῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων*. Heading or end-title? I had supposed it to be a chapter or section heading, in accordance with the practice of later rhetorical manuscripts, but it may rather be intended to close the preceding section. The position of the coronis is not decisive, cf. e.g. VII 1011 89/90. At all events, since what follows is a discussion not of the *ἐντεχνοὶ πίστεις*, which is what would normally occupy a section on epicheiremes, but of the *ἄτεχνοὶ πίστεις*, it seems unavoidable that the reference must be to what precedes. The precise meaning of *ἐπιχειρήματα* may have varied somewhat from writer to writer (Quint. 5. 10. 1-8, Martin, *Ant. Rhet.* 105 f., Kroll, *Das Epicheirema*), but it would be astonishing if it ever included the *ἄτεχνοὶ πίστεις*; see below, however. The restoration *ἐπιχειρημάτων* is perhaps not inevitable; certainly *πιστευτικός* seems rather superfluous with it (cf. e.g. Minucian's definition of *ἐπιχειρήματα* as τὰ πρὸς πίστιν τοῦ ὑποκειμένου ζητήματος λαμβανόμενα, 341. 7-9 Sp.-H.), and I do not recall having come across *ἐπιχειρήματα* so qualified elsewhere. On the probability that the → page preceded this one, see intro.

8 ff. What follows is evidently a systematic treatment of the 'inartificial' proofs (*ἄτεχνοὶ πίστεις*, *inartificiales probationes*). The distinction between 'artificial' (*ἐντεχνοὶ*) and 'inartificial' proofs is standard from Aristotle (*Rh.* 1. 2. 2) on, as Quintilian attests (5. 1. 1) and the surviving treatises confirm. Some excluded the *ἄτεχνοὶ* from the province of rhetoric (Quint. 5. 1. 2, cf. Cic. *de orat.* 2. 118), but I know of no Greek writer who did. Aristotle listed *νόμοι, μάρτυρες, συνθήκαι, βάσανοι, ὄρκος* (*Rh.* 1. 15, cf. *Rh. Al.* 1428<sup>a</sup>23); more or less similar lists are given by Cic. *de inv.* 2. 46, *de orat.* 2. 116, *Rhet. ad Her.* 2. 9, Quint. 5. 1. 2, cf. Vict. 403. 29 Halm (44. 2-3 G.-C.) and Fortunat. 2. 25; Minuc. 340. 5 f. Sp.-H., Anon. Seg. 378. 7 f. Sp.-H. In the papyrus we have *περὶ ὄρκου* at 33, and *περὶ [μάρτυ]ρο[ς]* can be confidently restored at 10.

I cannot recover the opening, beyond the initial phrase. If -τ[έ]χρων is rightly recognized at the beginning of 9, the technical nomenclature is in evidence; *ἐντ[έ]χρων* seems to suit the space better than *ἄ-ατε* at the end of

9 suggests ἀτε[χνη-, but then what of the beginning of 10, where ?ὁ πρῶτος δ[ὲ τό]πος suggests itself? ὁ[ς] δ[ὲ ἀ] τ[ό]πος a desperate solution. If at least τ[ό]πος is right, for its application to the 'inartificial' proofs cf. e.g. *ad Her.* 2. 9; usage of the term τόπος might bring ἐπιχειρήματα in its train, cf. Alexander's definition of a topos, *cit. ap. Anon. Seg.* 382. 2-4 Sp.-H., as an ἀφορμὴ ἐπιχειρήματος, ἢ (ἀφορμὴ πίστεως εἰ) ὅθεν ἂν τις ὀρῶμενος ἐπιχειρήματα εὖροι; cf. Quint. 5. 10. 20.

περὶ [μάρτυ]ρο[ς]. The restoration depends on the identification of the content of the next few lines. -ρο[ς]: not -ρων or -ρίας.

10 ff. The basis for the reconstruction is a section in Anon. Seg. on the discrediting of witnesses, 386. 3-9 Sp.-H., which begins: τὰς δὲ μαρτυρίας αἰτιασόμεθα ἥτοι φίλους εἶναι λέγοντες τοῖς ἀντιδίκους τοὺς μάρτυρας ἢ ἡμῶν ἐχθροὺς ἢ δῶρα εἰληφότας ἢ παρακεκλημένους ἢ ἔργον τὸ καταψευδομαρτυρεῖν ποιουμένους. The germ, once again, is Arist. *Rh.* 1. 15. 19, 137<sup>b</sup>30f., τὰ δ' ἄλλα περὶ μάρτυρος ἢ φίλου ἢ ἐχθροῦ ἢ μεταξὺ κτλ; cf. *Rh. Al.* 15, esp. 1431<sup>b</sup>37-41 κκεπτέον δὲ καὶ εἰ φίλος ἐστὶν ὁ μάρτυς ᾧ μαρτυρεῖ, ἢ εἰ μέτεστί ποθεν αὐτῷ τοῦ πράγματος, ἢ ἐχθρὸς ἐστὶν οὐ καταμαρτυρεῖ, ἢ πένης: τούτων γὰρ οἱ μὲν διὰ χάριω, οἱ δὲ διὰ τιμωρίαν, οἱ δὲ διὰ κέρδος ὑποπτεύονται τὰ ψευδῆ μαρτυρεῖν. Dig. 22. 5. 3, *in persona eorum exploranda erunt in primis condicio cuiusque, utrum quis decurio an plebeius sit, . . . an locuples vel egens sit ut lucri causa qui facile admittat, vel ut inimicus ei sit adversus quem testimonium fert, vel amicus ei sit pro quo testimonium dat; ad Her.* 2. 11, *testes corrumpi posse vel pretio vel gratia vel metu vel simulate;* most fully of all, Quint. 5. 7, apparently drawing on Domitius Afer's two-book treatment of the subject (5. 7. 7). Add Hermog. *Stat.* 19, 45. 16-20 Rabe, *τουτὶ γὰρ σοι καθόλου περὶ μαρτύρων ἔστω τεχνικὸν θεώρημα, ἢ διαβύλλειν αὐτοῦς, ὅτι πρὸς χάριον ἢ δι' ἐχθραν ἢ διὰ τινα οἰκειότητα αὐτοῦ μαρτυροῦσιν ἢ διὰ κέρδος τι οἰκεῖον, ἢ διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι δι' ἡλικίαν ἀξιοπίστους.*

I take it that κατασκευ[ά]σμεν in 11 is the main verb; -[ά]σμεν, -[ά]σμεν, -[ά]σμεν would make equally good readings, but future indicative is normal, and cf. ποιήσομεν 33. κατασκευάζειν here evidently not in its technical sense, the opposite of ἀνασκευάζειν, but simply 'we shall make out' that he is on the opposition's side etc., shall represent him as so being. But ἀνασκευ[ύ]σμεν would do nicely as the verb of the εἰάν clause in the papyrus; cf. the context of the section in Anon. Seg., *λύσεις (= ἀνασκευαί) τῶν πίστεων* as opposed to *κατασκευαί τῶν πίστεων* (385. 9-11 Sp.-H.). ὑπὲρ δὲ αὐτοῦ in 17 may introduce the corresponding 'positive' lines of argument (not given in Anon. Seg.), though I should rather have expected the formal balance of an εἰάν δὲ clause, and we are free to postulate one, as Dr Innes suggests, at 24, εἰάν δὲ κατασκευάσμεν ὑπὲρ αὐ[τοῦ]. It is not quite clear how far the section of witnesses extends: all the way to 33, it would seem.

ὅτι φ[ίλο]ς τοῖς [ἀντιδίκ]οι[ς], ἢ μὲν δὲ ἐχθροῖ[ς]. Though it entails the assumption of a copying error, the reconstruction seems guaranteed by Anon. Seg. cited above; cf. Quint. 5. 7. 30 (*si amicitia accusatoris, si inimicitiae cum reo*), *ibid.* 33, *ibid.* 2.

ὅ[τι] ἄπιρος (i. ἄπειρος) τοῦ πράγματος. *Ad Her.* 2. 9 *contra testes . . . scire illos non potuisse*, cf. the general point made on the other side at Quint. 5. 7. 33, *scientiam in testibus . . . esse . . . dicitur*, and *ibid.* 24 (*neminem praeter eos, qui possint scire*); *Rh. Al.* 1431<sup>b</sup>13-15, on the δόξα τοῦ λέγοντος, τὸν δ' ἀντιλέγοντα μάλιστα δεικνύναι μηδεμίαν ἐμπειρίαν ἔχοντα τὸν ἐναντίον.

13 ὅ[τι] ὥς[π]ε[ρ] οὐδὲν ὄξισ[ος] would fit well. ὥσπερ is hardly wanted, but I am not sure that πένης (commended by Dr Innes, who suggests correspondingly e.g. [πονηροὺς καὶ πέν]η[τας] at 21 below) is compatible with the remains.

14 τῷ πρώτῳ μαρ[τυ]ρήσας makes a good reading, though perhaps not inevitable. Before it, I can come up with nothing more plausible than ἔς[τε]ν ἄ[λλ]οτε.

15 ff. πλεοναχῶς κτλ; various ways of profiting (κερδαίνων 14) from testifying? The surviving traces before δὲ scarcely even allow guesses to be tested, but κερδ- is difficult to accommodate; perhaps καὶ τοῦτο. In what follows, perhaps an infinitive before μέλλων, if μέλλων is right; but the most promising decipherment of the initial traces may be εἰλ[λ], suggesting εἰληφῶς δῶρα *vel sim.*; in that case ἢ] μέλλων sc. λαμβάνειν; this seems rather too much for the lacuna, but perhaps not. In the following lacuna there is probably room enough for [ἢ παρασ]κευ[α]ζόμενος, 'suborned', though I should rather have expected the perfect, and the continuation (περὶ ἰδί[ου], ἰδιό[τητος]) is not clear. As Dr Innes suggests, there may be deliberate use of past, future, and present: εἰληφῶς ἢδη (sc. δῶρα) ἢ] μέλλων [ἢ παρασ]κευ[α]ζόμενος, the last referring to negotiations taking place during the trial ('making preparation to get gifts/receive bribes'). At sentence-end (inferred from the following δὲ) I have tried *inter alia* μαρτυρίας, τιμωρίας, πονηρίας, but all founder on the proximity of ὤ (i.e. ὤ-, presumably): the letter itself could perhaps be read as a tau, but the trema is fairly clear.

17f. ὑπὲρ δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῖς [ἐναντί]οις χ[ρησ]ίμ[ε]θα would well suit space and traces but cannot be regarded as more than speculative.





(a). Apparently top of page

(b). The physical appearance of this scrap suggests that it may belong somewhere in the large hole at ll. 23-30 of the main fragment, in which case its likely position is → 25-8, c. 24 letters from the line-beginning, ↓ 23-7, c. 14 letters from the line-beginning

→ 1 ]ε, or ε

↓ 1 ], foot of upright as of ι, γ, τ, not π

Remaining: several scraps and strands not worth transcribing in isolation, some blank.

### 3709. UNKNOWN TEXT WITH MARGINALIA

Platc I

13 1B.129/D(3-4)c

4.8 × 4.9 cm

Third century

Since it mentions an Abderite ceremony and a *φαρμακός*, it was thought that this scrap might in some way relate to Call. fr. 90. So perhaps it may, but it rather requires elucidation than affords it.

On the front (→) a block of four lines, written in a small third-century hand, has the appearance of a scholium. There are scanty remains of two other sets of writing on this side. Above and to the left of the putative scholium are the extreme ends of two lines of writing in a large hand (if indeed it is writing at all). Below is a line of writing in a small hand similar to that of the supposed scholium but more cursive; a gap separates it from the preceding lines, and the papyrus is broken off below. This could be another note.

On the back (↓) are line beginnings in an informal hand, which abrasion has rendered mostly illegible. The top four lines appear to be in a different, smaller hand, probably identical with that of the four-line note on the front.

It is possible that the fragment is from the top corner of a codex. Then the main text will be represented by → 1-2 and ↓ 5-11. If → precedes ↓, → is the right-hand page (in codex terms the recto) and the → scholium is in the outer margin; if ↓ precedes →, ↓ is the right-hand page and the → scholium is in the inner margin. In either case ↓ 5 will be the beginning of the first line of its column, and → 1 the end either of the first or the second.

An annotated text is likely to be verse, and in that case the metre ought to be recoverable from the line beginnings of ↓ 5 ff., and a start made towards identification. But I cannot read those lines well enough even to verify the premise.

	↓	. . . . .
		. . . . .] . . . . . [
		. . . . . [
→		. . . . . δωκαςη. [
	]	. . . . . ουτουεπαι [

1, 2 not certainly letters at all

Hand of ↓ 1-4 possibly identical with that of → 3-6, and that of ↓ 5-11 with that of → 1-2

	]. ι	[	5	.. κακωνερ[
	] εορτηναβδηροισ. . [			.. κακαμ. . [
	] ετη τρεφετ(αι)φαρμακ[			.. φι. . υστξε[
5	] .εγαττικητοιςπαρ[			ουχορ. ζανα[
	] κινεορτηναγει. [			αλλαπατ. . . [
	] [		10	.. οσός. . . [
	]αταπερρικ. . . [			ηδεανυ[

5 init., feet of two uprights as of π or η ε, 5 εβ, or φ 7 init., perhaps και, then  
 or α 6 first ε altered from α? φιλους poss. 8 χορρις? 10 τιος?

→ 3 εορτή εν Αβδήροις. Perhaps the Thargelia, known at Athens and assumed for Abdera (Nilsson, *Gr. Feste* 108).

4 τρέφεται φαρμακός. For the φαρμακός at Abdera cf. Call. fr. 90, "Ενθ', Αβδηρ', οὐ νῦν . . .] λεω φαρμακὸν ἀγινεῖ, *Op. Ibis* 469f., and Scholl. ad locc. (cited by Pfeiffer on Call. loc. cit.). For his τροφή, cf. the Callimachean *diegeseis* (ii 32f.), *θούνης ἀπολαύων δαφιλοῦς*, and Hippon. fr. 8 West, *κάφηι παρέξειν ἰσχάδας τε καὶ μάζαν | καὶ τυρόν, οἶον ἐσθίουσι φαρμακοί*.

5, 6 Ἀττικη, εορτήν ἄγει. The φαρμακός-ritual formed part of the Athenian Thargelia. See Deubner, *Attische Feste* 179 ff.; Nilsson, *Gr. Feste* 105 ff.; V. Gebhard, *Die Pharmakoi in Ionien u. die Sybakchoi in Athen*; Fiehn in *RE* s.v. *Thargelia*. According to Harp. s.v. φαρμακός and to *Hellad. ap. Phot. Bibl.* 279 the Athenians had two φαρμακοί, one for either sex.

7 'Persian'?

↓ I have attacked these lines on the hypothesis that they are trochaics (Hipponax, Old Comedy?), but without making further progress.

### 3710. COMMENTARY ON *Odyssey* xx

Plate IX

Inv. no. not recorded

22 × 24 cm

Second century

Remains of four consecutive columns of a commentary on *Odyssey* xx written by the copyist responsible for XLV 3213 and the other manuscripts mentioned there (of which the *Phaedo* text is now LII 3676, and the 'commentary on *Odyssey* xxii' presumably the present number). The script is assigned to the latter part of the second century (Hunt at VIII 1092, Lobel at XXI 2297). Lemmata are distinguished, as regularly, by ecthesis and paragraphus, and the text is further articulated by means of short intratextual spaces, rarely of more than one or two letters' width, used in lieu of punctuation. Some corrections have been made by a second hand, which also filled in a couple of places in col. i left blank by the copyist: perhaps the exemplar was damaged. The column height is unknown but at least 22 cm, occupied by at least 55 lines; column width c. 6 cm. There is a collema join between cols. i and ii. Back blank.

The commentary, which I see no reason to think was limited to this one book, is a product of mainstream Homeric criticism, as represented by the surviving scholiastic corpus, more comparable in type to the 'Ammonius' commentary on *Iliad* xxi (II 221, Pap. XII Erbse) than, say, to the Pergamene monograph XXXIX 2888. It is on a fuller scale than the existing *Odyssey* scholia, and much more liberal in naming its authorities, more resembling the *Iliad* scholia in this respect. Aristonicus, cited several times for interpretation, is the most recent scholar named, and while inference from the absence of later scholars such as Herodian is necessarily precarious, especially over such a relatively short stretch of text as this, all the evidence is consistent with first-century composition. The composer may well be a known name, but commentators were many, and positive identification seems out of the question. His reporting is notably neutral: no polemics, not even explicit statement of preference, beyond what is entailed in the lemma.

The exegetics are conventional. Explication by resort to motive is perhaps proportionately more frequent than in the extant scholia. Specifically Pergamene scholarship does not go unrepresented. Crates and Zenodotus of Mallos are mentioned with regard to relocation and addition of verses (iii 20 ff., iii 40 ff., cf. ii 2 ff.); this gives the commentary an affinity with the T-scholia of the *Iliad*; use of Didymus might be more confidently assumed if the sources were not Pergamene. A reading of Aristophanes' (coinciding with the vulgate, but not with the commentator's text of Homer) is explicitly cited (iii 33); Aristarchus is not mentioned, though he no doubt has a covert presence in Aristonicus and some of the unattributed material. Without a more secure knowledge of the interweavings of the scholarship of the period it is difficult to trace significant affiliations. Various points of contact with the D-scholia and others are discernible, but the surviving *Odyssey* scholia are altogether too scanty, particularly in the later books, to allow more than piecemeal connections to be made.

The bulk of our commentator's fodder is naturally provided by other Homeric critics. Glossographical tradition makes an appearance, as in the Geneva scholia on *Iliad* xxi, in citation of Parmeno of Byzantium (ii 24); and Aristarchus of Samos and Diodorus (of Alexandria?) are called into service for astronomical exposition (ii 37, 47). But I should not think these have been consulted at first hand.

New readings fall into two classes: those attributed to particular scholars or 'editions', most notably one in v. 135 common to Rhianus', Zenodotus', and the Cyprian editions (ii 7 ff.), and those of the lemmata themselves—for these do not always coincide with the paradosis: v. 106 *bis* (i 23), v. 174 (iii 33), v. 276 (iii 21 *p.c.*). This is a sharp reminder of the paltriness of our textual as well as our scholiastic evidence for the *Odyssey* as compared with the *Iliad*. Our commentator's text of Homer was not the vulgate: I should suppose it to be Aristarchean.

There are more incidental gains. A bit of comedy seems to be adduced in col. i (14 ff.). And the astronomical disquisition triggered by the new-moon feast of Apollo (v. 156, ii 33 ff.) contains not only a citation of Thales by Aristarchus of Samos but also a new quotation from Heraclitus.

Other remnants of *Odyssey* commentaries, as distinct from scholia minora, are P. Yale inv. 551 (*Hellenica* 28 (1975) 60-5, cf. *Würzb. Jahrb.* NF 2 (1976) 99-104), P. Fay. 312 descr. (Pack<sup>2</sup> 1213, now published in *BASP* 20 (1983) 113-22), and the papyrus edited by Bartoletti in *ASNP* 35 (1966) 1-4. P. Alex. inv. 198 (*Papiri letterari greci*, no. 8; Pack<sup>2</sup> 2614) is probably another, but I would suggest that P. Med. inv. 210 (*Aeg.* 58 (1978) 110-14) is rather a discussion of the soul (read  $\chi\rho\upsilon\lrcorner\lrcorner\lrcorner\pi\pi\omicron\varsigma \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\lrcorner\gamma\epsilon\iota$  at ii 12?). XXXIX 2888 appears to be a *Homeric Questions* or the like. The portion of Homeric text here treated is partially extant in P. Ryl. I 53 (*IT*<sup>28</sup>; iii-iv AD).

I am privileged to have been able to use a transcript and notes prepared by Mr Lobel. Responsibility for the transcript now printed must be mine, but I have compared my transcription with his at every point, deferred in cases of doubt, and record all but the most trivial differences. I have also had the benefit of some comments from Professor A. Dyck.

col. i (a)

Apparently the top of the column

	. . . . [ ]η <sup>t</sup> . . . [		
	]ριαικατακρ. . [		
	]ουδαμου[. . ρφ. [		
	. . εις[. . ]μαχε[		
5	]εδονιαι πως[		
	]κεδονιαιεβλε[		
	. . ]ειεκβρεφους[. κ[		
	]τοδεεκνεφ[		
	]υρυκρατειδ. μ. [		
10	]νοδοτωιαρι. . φ[		
	]κνυσοτιαθηγ. [		
	]ζυνηθειαν. [		
	]ωκληγουσιτ[		
	]γοιςωσνικο. [		
15	]αις. αντρεχησα[		
	]αβλεψειςπανυπ[		
	. ]αγαρκα[ ]νυνειρη[		
	. . υ επ. τοι. [		
	. . . τιν[. . ]ιαντ[		
20	. . φημ[ (105)		
	. . ]το. [ . . ]εροφ. [		
	. . ]οτιου[. . . . κ. [		
	]λησιαιενθαρατοιμυ[	π]λησίαι ἐνθ' ἄρα τοι μύ[λαι (106)	
	. ]κωςμ[. ]λαι προστολ <sup>αι</sup> . [	. ]κῶς μ[ύ]λαι πρὸς τολ. [	
25	. ]'ατο [ c. 4 ] . . . υ[. ]α[	ε]ίατο [ . . . υ[. ]α[	
	. ]αρ. . [	. ]αρ. . [	

2 . . [ , first trace a speck on the line, suiting only *a* among vowels; perhaps *ατ* [ 3 υ[. ] . ρ: υ. ρ EL. Before ρ, speck of apparent shortish descender close to tail of ρ [ , *a*, *e*? 4 ] . , top of upright [ ] . , upright with suggestion of leftward curve at foot; space and trace compatible with e.g. [ε]ι, ω, not *o* or η 6 λξ[ : ρ[ ] . [ EL, suggesting ἐβρ[ό]υ[τ]ησ- 7 ] . , top of apparent upright There is a speck of ink well above the line at the left-hand edge, either casual or the remnant of some supralineation [ ] . , upright, [ . ]ι or η 8 ] . , unless part of the τ, a near-horizontal at letter-top level 9 After δ, a hole, to the right the top of an upright curving slightly rightwards, η? . [ , apparent upright 10 . . , scattered specks in positions compatible with *ετ* 12 θ remade . [ , stroke rising from lower left, *a* or λ prob. 14 . [ , a dot off the line 15 ρ remade 16 π[ : λ[ EL; the left-hand side and the right foot survive; the stroke beginning at top left is at the wrong angle for λ; π hardly to be doubted, I think 17 ] . , an arc or sloping upright bending to left at top, θ? 18 ] . . υ [ ( . . EL), surface mostly worm-eaten; perhaps ] . υν, hardly ] . ου ε (ε EL), or θ[ι] π, or γ, then a hole followed by foot of upright, e.g. η, [ . ]ι . [ , π, *c*, or (better?) γ. (γα[?] 19 ] . . . , broken letter-tops suggestive of *οεεε* ] . , right of letter-top horizontal, τ



col. ii

(b)

. . . . .

]ε[

(c) . . . . . ] . *στιθη*[

. . . . . ] *εμαχουα*[

οϋ[ . . . . . ] . *ουδετι* . [

5 *η* . [ . ] . *αρθρ* . [ *σ. 5* ] *ματηνδε* . [

*υ* . *ικανει* . [ *σ. 4* ] . *μιννυτεκ*[

*αντιτου* [ . . ] *τ* . [ . . ] *ανουκαιζη*[

. *αι* . *υπριαιετ* [ . . . ] . *μοναιτ*[

*πακουσθηιου* [ . . . ] . *αλλοτξεδηκ*[

10 ] *αιυπνου οτ* . [ *σ. 5* ] *ρεικουιτοςκαιυπν*[

] *γαρψιληκ* . [ *σ. 5* ] *σικροιτος ημ* . [

] *δεμνιανωγε* . [ *σ. 4* ] *ν* . . [ ] *φοι*[

] *μασμενε* . [ *σ. 7* ] *χωστιςπα*[

] *α* . [ . ] *ι*[ *σ. 10* ] . *μος ειρ*[

15 *σ. 14* ] . *παρακολουθ* . [

*σ. 15* ] *πρωμεν* [

*σ. 16* ] *εμοιδοκει*[

/ . [ *σ. 15* ] . *ειν* <sup>ωστρδ</sup> *δεπα*[

*ειδεκω* [ . ] . [ *σ. 9* ] . *εκειποιη* . [

20 *κωσαλλουχι* [ *σ. 6* ] *γχο* . *εχωναμα*[

*τωγε αρι* <sup>φ</sup> . [ . . ] . [ . ] . [ . ] *κυ* . [ . ] . *λοικς*[

. *γρειθαιμενδ* [ . ] . *ακορησα* . [ . ] *παρακ*[

*λευσμαμονον τογαραγετεηττον και*

*γαρρημαπροστακτικον παρμενων*

3 α[ : . [ EL 4 ] . , apparent upright broken to left ι . [ : . [ EL; upper part of ι, followed closely by trace difficult to assign 5 η, slight traces above, conceivably smooth breathing but anomalously located, casual? After η, an upright with suggestion of horizontal to right at top, γ, π, σ, ε suggested, other letters perhaps not to be excluded ] . , foot of upright, η, ι, π suggested After ρ, curve compatible with ω, ο, ε ε ligatured to apparent upright 6 . ([ ] EL), indeterminate speck at upper right, neither ν nor σ excluded; the small lacuna intervening after ο is of uncertain width 8 ] . , apparent short descender ρ, ε EL 12 φ, ρ EL 15 ] . , top of upright, η, ι, ν? . [ , apparent upright 16 π: π EL, but τι or γι also possible 18 *mag.*, so EL: or *ancora*? ] . , anomalous traces: oblique extending below σ (a cancellation?), and horizontal joining top of σ 19 ] . , extremities of κ or (better?) σ? ει: ε. EL . [ , high and low specks, τ? 21 ] . [ . ] . [ , base speck, shortish descender

- νο. ικάνει. [οὐκ ἄ]ν μιν νῦν, τέκ[ρον (135)  
 ἀντὶ τοῦ [έν] τῆ[ι 'Ρι]ανού καὶ Ζη[ροδότου  
 καὶ Κυπρίαί ετ[. . . ], μὲν αἰτ[  
 πακουσθῆι ου[. . . ]. ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ κ[οίτοιο (138)  
 10 κ]αὶ ὕπνου. ὅτι [διαφέ]ρει κοῖτος καὶ ὕπν[ος·  
 ἦ] γὰρ ψιλῆ κα[τάκλι]σις κοῖτος. ἦ μὲ[ν (139)  
 δέμνι' ἀνωγεν[. δέμ]νια [έ]φ' οἱ[ς τὸ δέ-  
 μα μένει[. αὐτὰρ ὅ] γ' ὥς τις πά[μ- (140)  
 π]αν [ὀ]ι[ζυρὸς καὶ ἄπο]τμος. εἰρ[
- 20 κωος ἀλλουχι[ c. 5 ἔ]γχος ἔχων ἄμα (145)  
τῶ γε. Ἀρι(στό)νι(κός) φη[σι]. [. ]. [. ] κυν[ο]υλκοῖς. [ἄ-(149)  
 γρεῖθ', αἰ μὲν δ[ὴ]μα κορήσατ[ε.] παρακ[έ-  
 λευσμα μόνου, τὸ γὰρ ἄγετε ἦττον, καὶ  
 γὰρ ῥῆμα προστακτικόν. Παρμένων



25 βυζαντιος παραθηναιοιστοκαλλυ  
 γεινκορειν κορησατεκαθηρατεκαι  
 [. .]ρηηετικ. θαραφθορασ β[. .], ετε  
 [. .]. [. .]εουσαιδ<sup>ε</sup> ταυταουφ[.]οντιζου  
 σαλεγειτωνμνηστηρωναλ, οπως  
 30 μ. . αβωσινταχεω, επιτηντα[.]ασιουρ  
 για, ρωμαϊκοντοεθοστηδια, [.]γιασ  
 ερχεσθεκρηνηδεκαοιςετε ο, ιαγ  
 τιτουφερετε αλλαμαληριγξον<sup>τ</sup>  
 αρι<sup>λ</sup>φης, νοτινουμ, νιαηγτοτε  
 35 οθена[. . .]λωνος επειοαυτοσηλιωι  
 οτιενν. . μ. . ιαι<sup>α</sup>εκλειψεις δηλο[.]  
 αρισταρχο, οσαμ[.]οσγραφων εφητε  
 ομενθαλης οτιεκλειπε, ντονηλ[.]  
 ονσεληνησεπιπροσθεγαυτωιγε, ο  
 40 μενησσημειουμξ[ c. 9 ]. . . της  
 ημερα, εν. ιποιειτα, . ηνεγλε, ψιν  
 η[. .], ιμεντριακαδακαλουσινο[.]δενου  
 μηνιαν ηρακλειτοσσυνοιων>  
 τωνμηνωνημερασεξ[. .], ο, φαι>  
 45 νετ αιπροτερηννουμην[.][[αν]]ηγ, εν  
 τερηναλλοτελασσονασμεταβαλ, ε  
 . . . αλλοτεπλευνας διοδωροσουτ. .  
 . ντοεξαγειτοεπειγααραπ[.]κρυπτεται  
 μενησεληνηπροσαγουσατωιηλιωι  
 50 . . ταταστωνμηνωντε, ευτασο, αν  
 ]. ιστα, . ντασεμπεσρηιτ, ζτουηλιου>  
 ], χρο. [ c. 7 ], αφανις[. .]ισαπαλι  
 ]. . . να[. .], ωνεκφα, [ c. 7 ]. . τι  
 ]μεισοταντηνεκτων>  
 55 ], πρωτωσπ[. . .]ηταιν[ ]υ

36 Between c and δ, . EL, interpreting as ο 40 'Before τ an upright preceded by a horizontal trace not quite level with its top; ι or η perhaps likeliest, before which a dot just below the top of the letters and a faint trace on the line at an interval to left' EL 51 τ, ε, τας suggested: τ. [[ε EL, interpreting as τα[ι]c 53 ]. . ., 'two uprights with specks to right of their tops, perhaps separate letters, followed by a dot on the line and the foot of an upright' EL (]γτη?) α[. .], ατ EL εκφαγ[ ]ωc[ EL, but with the note ']ωc not now extant and I am not sure whether it was a guess taken from an earlier transcript' ]. . τβ, 'the last two letters are preceded by a dot below the line and the top of a circle, and these by dispersed traces' EL 55 ], ., lower part of upright υ[ ]υ, υ[ο]υ acceptable

- 25 *Βυζάντιος παρ' Ἀθηναίοις τὸ καλλύ-  
νειν κορεῖν. κορήσατε καθήρατε καὶ  
κόρη ἢ ἔτι καθαρά φθοράς. β[άλ]λετε* (151)  
*π[ορ]φ[υρ]έους αἰ δέ. ταῦτα οὐ φ[ρ]οντίζου-  
σα λέγει τῶν μνηστῆρων ἀλλ' ὅπως*
- 30 *μεταβῶσιν ταχέως ἐπὶ τὴν τα[λ]ασιουρ-  
γίαν. Ῥωμαϊκὸν τὸ ἔθος τῆς διακ[ο]νίας.  
ἔρχεσθε κρήνηνδε καὶ οἴσετε. ὅτι ἀν-  
τὶ τοῦ φέρετε. ἀλλὰ μάλ' ἦρι νέοντ(αι).* (154)  
*Ἄρι(στό)νι(κός) φησιν ὅτι νομηνία ἦν τότε,* (156)  
35 *ὄθεν Ἀ[πόλ]λωνος, ἐπεὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ἠλίωι.  
ὅτι ἐν νομηνίαι `αἰ' ἐκλείψεις δηλο[ῖ]  
Ἄρισταρχος ὁ Κάμ[ι]ος γράφων· ἔφη τε  
ὁ μὲν Θαλῆς ὅτι ἐκλείπειν τὸν ἠλ[ι]-  
ον σελήνης ἐπίπροσθεν αὐτῶι γενο-*
- 40 *μένης, σημειουμέ[νης c. 6] . . . τῆς  
ἡμέρας, ἐν ἣι ποιεῖται τὴν ἔγλειψιν,  
ἦ[ν] οἱ μὲν τριακάδα καλοῦσιν ο[ἱ] δὲ νομ-  
ηνίαν. Ἡράκλειτος· συνιόντων  
τῶν μηνῶν ἡμέρας ἕξ [ὅ]του φαί-*
- 45 *νεται προτέρην νομην[ι][αν] ἣν δευ-  
τέρην ἄλλοτ' ἐλάσσονα μεταβάλλε-  
ται ἄλλοτε πλεῦνας. Διόδωρος οὕτως  
αὐτὸ ἐξαγειτο· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀπ[ο]κρύπτεται  
μὲν ἡ σελήνη προσάγουσα τῶι ἠλίωι*
- 50 *κατὰ τὰς τῶν μηνῶν τελευτάς, ὅταν  
εἰς τὰς αὐ(γ)ὰς ἐμπέσῃ τὰς τοῦ ἠλίου,  
. . .]. χρον[ c. 7] . αφανισ[θε]ῖσα, πάλιν*

col. iii

]ο[  
 ]καιτης, [  
 ]σηεστιν, [  
 ]. . ρ. χιφασιε. . [  
 5 ]πεικ[. . ], εωςμες[[αι]]ο[. . .]. [  
 ]κριν[. . ], τατηνεβαι[  
 / πα[. . ], λεγειντακο. [ . . . ], μειστρ[  
 φαινομενοσεκκαιδ[. . ], ατ̄απασελη  
 νος[[γ̄ι]]νεταιεινημερ. . . τ̄εσσαρεςκαι  
 10 δεκααπολιμπανειτο, υπομετρον >  
 ενημερη̄ς[[ε]]ιγ̄ ειγαρ, νημεραῑιδ̄  
 πασεληνοσηναρξαμενηφαινεσθαι  
 τηιγ̄κατατηνουμηνιανδηλον  
 ωσον. [ . ]φαινεταυτο. [ . ]ουπωινεπ. [ . ]  
 15 ν[. . ], ω[. . ], την, υμηνιαιφαινο  
 μ[. . ]ηκατ[. . ]τηνιδ̄εστινπασελην<sup>ο</sup>  
 ε. [ . ], ω, τηιγ̄φαινομενηπρωτ̄ᾱς  
 κ[. . ]ατηνι, πασεληνοσην, . . αιδια  
 ιδη. . ρων αιδαντουκαταδ[. . ].<sup>11</sup>  
 20 κρα[. . ], [ . ]ενταυθαυποταξε. . . ρυκες  
 δαναας, [ . ], φω[[ν]]εωσαγχ. . ολονδ[. . ]φηλ  
 θεμ̄ε. ανθ[. . ]ος εθοςγαρεινα[  
 κακαταγγελλεινταθ. . [  
 θονμ̄νηστηρεσαγ. . [ . ]. [ . ]. [ . ]  
 25 > δηλθον[[μ̄ν]]η[. . ], ηρεσαχ. [ . ]  
 γαρ. γηνορ. [ . . . ]. ο. [ . ]

4 ]. . , foot of upright, upright: τι? After ρ, stem of ν? . . . [ . ], abraded traces suggesting ε, foot of upright  
 5 ],, apparent foot of descender [[αι]]ο: [[α. (.) EL, suggesting [[αν[ 6 [ . ], letter-foot  
 trace, [ε]c seems acceptable, despite 'apparently room for only one letter' EL 5f. Surface stripped at  
 right 7 π, or γι or ν ],, speck on the line ],, an apex, prob. λ or α, less prob. δ, μ, ν  
 8 supralin. η: ης EL 9 . . . , unassignable traces in severely damaged context, and some  
 supralineation 10 ],, headless upright, apparently right-hand side of e.g. ν 16 ν<sup>ο</sup> (diminished ο):  
 ̄ EL 17 ],, γ or τ 18 ],, traces admitting σ, perhaps also ζ or η 19 ιδ̄, bar above will have  
 been lost 26 After ρ, neither α nor ε excluded ],. ο. [ (]. ο[ EL), first letter γ or τ; a speck to upper right  
 of ο suggests ν

- φαινόμενος ἐκκαιδ[ε]κάτηι πασκέλη-  
 νος φαίνεται ἐν ἡμέραις τεσσαρεσκαί-  
 10 δεκα ἀπολιμπάνει το, ὑπομετρον  
 ἐν ἡμέρησι ιγ. εἰ γὰρ ἐν ἡμέραις ιδ̄  
 πασκέληνος ἦν ἀρξαμένη φαίνεσθαι  
 τῆι ιγ̄ κατὰ τὴν νομηνίαν δῆλον  
 ὡς οὐκ [έ]φαινεταυτοι[.] οὐπω ἔν' επε[  
 15 ν[.]γ̄ πρῶ[τ]ως τῆι νομηνίαι φαινο-  
 μ[έν]η κατ[ὰ] τὴν ιδ̄ ἐστὶν πασκέληνο(ς)  
 ε. [.] ω. τῆι γ̄ φαινομένη πρώτως  
 κ[ατ]ὰ τὴν ῑ πασκέληνος γίν. ται διὰ  
 ιδ̄ ἡμερῶν. αἱ δ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ δ[ώμ]α[τ'] (159)  
 20 Κρά[τ]η[ς] ἐνταῦθα ὑποτάσσει “κῆρυκες  
 δ' ἀνὰ ἄστ[υ] θεῶι” ἕως “ἀγχίμολον δ[έ]ϕ' ἦλ-  
 θε Μελάνθ[ι]ος”. ἔθος γὰρ εἶνα[ι] τοὺς κῆρυ-  
 25 κας καταγγέλλειν τὰς θυς[ίας]. ἐς δ' ἦλ- (160)  
 θον <sup>δῆ</sup> μνηστῆρες ἀγῆν[ο]ρ[ε]ς [ “ἐς  
 δ' ἦλθον δρη[ς]τῆρες Ἀχα[ίων]”  
 γὰρ ἀγῆνορ. [. . . ]. ο. [

δ̣. εδ̣ηλθρ. . . . [ c. 10 ] α[  
 ποιοιχαλκοχ[ ]τωνε. [ ] . . . [ . . ] ζια[  
 . α<sup>τ</sup> τουςαρσε. αελεγει ταςγαρθη[ . ] ε. . . [

30  
 ε̣ε̣ε̣πιγ̣ονη. τη̣ρει[ ] οικ̣ω̣ι̣ε. α̣λλο  
 τ̣ρι̣ω̣ι̣ου<sup>δ</sup> κα̣λ[ . ] σου̣κε. . ε̣νο̣τι̣αι̣δ̣ω̣ου  
 κ̣ε̣χ̣ου̣σιν α̣λ[ . ] ου̣δε̣μο̣ρι̣ον. . . ου̣σ  
 α[ ] γ̣α̣σα̣γ̣ων̣ο̣ι̣πα̣σι α̣ρι̣στο̣φ̣αν̣η̣ς̣γ̣ρα[ . ] ε̣ι  
 α. . α̣σι̣ν. . ω̣σε̣κ̣π̣ρο̣δ̣η̣λου̣φ̣α. . [

35  
 τα[ c. 8 ] ν̣ευ̣μ̣αι̣ο̣ν̣δ̣ια̣φο̣ρα[ . . . ] η̣  
 φ̣η̣σιν. [ c. 5 ] υ̣ν̣ και̣ το̣υ̣σ̣μ̣εν̣κα[  
 δ̣η̣σεν . . . . [ . . . . ] . α̣ς̣ ε̣π̣. . [ . ] υ̣ν̣φ[  
 ε. [ . ] . ρ̣κο̣τε̣ρο[ . . . ] . . . . ε̣στ̣ο̣ν̣τ̣ε̣υ̣ς. [  
 . [ c. 5 ] σ̣εν[ . ] α̣δε̣κ̣ει̣ν̣ται̣νυ[ . . . ] ρ̣ε̣ο̣ρ[

40  
 ] . . δ̣ε̣π̣ι̣τ̣ρι̣το̣ς̣η̣λ̣θ̣ε[ ] ζ[  
 ] λ̣λω̣τ̣η. π̣ρο̣σ̣τι̣θ̣η[  
 x . [ . . . ] . . [ c. 5 ] σ̣β̣ο̣υ̣ς. [  
 ζ[ c. 13 ] . . [

27 After ρ almost all lost; last trace is upright      34 ν perhaps cancelled      36 .[, lower part of upright  
 37 . . . . [, first a tight loop at lower left, ε suggested, α and others not excluded; last an upright; the whole consistent with αντι      38 ] . . . . , various remains, ρ. . ν suggested ( . . . τ EL)      ε: ο EL      σ: [ (ε EL), c almost certain, with ink below suggesting lower left apex of α      39 .[, sloping upright or oblique      ρβ[: . . [ EL      42 ]ε[: . EL      .[: ε[ EL, but I think ε or β      43 marg. x (so EL), or ζ(ήτει)?

- δε̅ “ές δ’ ἦλθον . . . [ c. 10 ]α[  
 ποιιοι χαλκοχ[ί]τωνες. τρε[ίς] κιά[λους] (163)  
 κατ(άγων). τοὺς ἄρκενας λέγει, τὰς γὰρ θη[λ]εία[ς]  
 30 εἰς ἐπιγονὴν τηρεῖ. οἴκωι ἐν ἄλλο- (171)  
 τρίωι οὐδ’. καλ[ῶ]ς οὐκ εἶπεν ὅτι αἰδῶ οὐ-  
 κ ἔχουσιν ἀλ[λ’] οὐδὲ μόριον αἰδοῦς.  
 α[ί]γας ἄγων οἱ πάσι. Ἀριστοφάνης γρά[φ]ει (174)  
 “αἰ πάσιν”, ὅπως ἐκ προδήλου φαίν[η]-  
 35 τα[ι ἢ πρὸς τὸ]ν Εὐμαιον διαφορά. [Ἀρι(στό)]νι(κός)  
 φησιν. [ c. 5 ]υν “καὶ τοὺς μὲν κα[τέ]- (176)  
 δησεν” . . . [ . . . ]. ας επ. . [ . ]υμφ[  
 εὐ[ς]αρκοτερο[ . . . ]. . . . ες τρυγεις. [  
 . [ c. 5 ]σεν[ . ]αδε κείνται νυ[ . . . ]ρεορ[  
 40 τοῖ]σι δ’ ἐπὶ τρίτος ἦλθε[ ]ζ[ (185)  
 ὁ Μα]λλώτης προστίθη[σι  
 . [ . . . ]. . [ c. 5 ]ς βοῦς . [  
 ζ[ c. 13 ] . . [

col. iv

- |    |                   |                                  |             |
|----|-------------------|----------------------------------|-------------|
|    | . ηντ[            | την τ[                           |             |
|    | οιγαρδ. . [       | οι γὰρ δωρ[                      |             |
|    | τηλεμαχ[          | Τηλεμάχ[οιο φόνος· ἀλλὰ μνησώμε- | (246)       |
|    | θαδαιτος . [      | θα δαιτός. . [                   |             |
| 5  | τετωλλοι. [       | τε τῶλ λοιπ[                     | “ἦ- (245)   |
|    | δε̅ [γῆ]βο. . . [ | δε γε βουλή”[                    | ἰέ- (250)   |
|    | ευνον ως[         | ρενον” ὡς[                       |             |
|    | ]ελθοντεςδ[       | ἐλθόντες δ[’ ἐς δώματ’           | (248)       |
|    | ]γραφει αυτ[      | γράφει αυτ[                      | ἴρευ- (251) |
| 10 | ]νδε, νας. [], [  | ο]ν δὲ κύας σ[ι]ά[λους           |             |
|    | ]ε[], στην. [     | ]ε[], στην τ[                    |             |

iv 1 stands opposite iii 30

col. i (a). The presumption is that this detached piece comes from the upper part of col. i of the main fragment; this cannot be verified physically, however, and that it may come from the preceding column must be acknowledged a possibility. Its level cannot be fixed, for column-height is not known and the intervention of a sheet-join between cols. i and ii (visible to the left of col. i 23 and for some distance down) makes it impossible to trace fibre continuity across the columns; but given that it has column top, alignment with col. ii shows that at least two complete lines must be lost between (a) and (b).

1 ff. We may already be in the middle of an extended discussion, continuing down to l. 20, of the problem of reconciling 103 f., *αὐτίκα δ' ἐβρόντησεν ἀπ' αἰγλήεντος Ὀλύμπου, / ὑψόθεν ἐκ νεφέων*, with 113 f., *ἡ μεγάλ' ἐβρόντησας ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος, / οὐδέ ποθι νέφος ἐστί*: cf. on 4 and 5 below. At all events a new lemma is not readily accommodated within these first few lines.

2 *ἐν αἰθ[ε]ραῖσι* (Eust. 1884. 59), *Πιε[ρ]αῖσι* (cf. 5 f.), *τῆσι ἀπο[ρ]αῖσι*, *al. κατὰ κράτ[ος], Κράτ[η]τα, al.*

3 *οὐδαμοῦ [γ]άρ φη[ε]ω* is tempting (*φηεω* probably parenthetical), though *a* is not easily read. *οὐδαμοῦ* = nowhere in Homer?

4 *οὐ συμφωνεῖ κ[α]ί, Ἀριστο[ν]εικῶ, εἰ κ[α]ί, al.* Then, unless *Μαχε[δον-]* is to be entertained, *μάχε[ε]σθαι* or *μάχε[ε]ται* 'is inconsistent', of 104 *vis-à-vis* 114, I should guess (cf. Eust. 1884. 61 ff.). There will have been a diple in the text.

5 f. In the context, as Mr Lobel noted, a mention of *Μακεδονία* is likely to occur in reference to Olympus, as c.g. on *Il.* 1. 18 *Ὀλυμπος. κατὰ μὲν Ὀμηρον ὄρος τῆς Μακεδονίας μέγιστον* D, *Od.* 5. 55 PQ, Hesych. s.v. *Πίπλια*. Cf. Lehrs, *De Aristarchi studiis Homericis*<sup>3</sup> 163-72.

*πῶς γάρ . . . ἐβλεψεν (ἡ γραῦς)*; how could she have seen from Ithaca a sign in Macedonia?

7 *ἐκ βρέφους* 'from infancy', but it is difficult to see the relevance of the phrase here. Was *βρέφους* perhaps written in error for *νέφους* under influence of *βροντή*?

As Mr Lobel noted, τὸ δὲ "*ἐκ νεφέων*" might introduce a discussion, such as is alluded to in the D-scholía on 104, 113, and found at greater length in Eust. 1884, about the equivalence here of *νέφη*, *Ὀλυμπος*, and *οὐρανός* as sources of the thunder. Cf. Schol. A *Il.* 1. 497, 16. 364; the Orphic Derveni papyrus (*ZPE* 47 (1982) Appendix) viii 3-5; P. Brux. inv. E. 7162 (*Mélanges Emile Boisacq* i 493-7; Pack<sup>2</sup> 1224).

9 Mr Lobel wrote: 'It is natural to see here the name Eurycrates or Eurycratidas, one of the Agiad kings of Sparta. What he would be doing I cannot guess, but neither can I propose an articulation to produce a more attractive possibility.' An unknown Homeric scholar Eurycrates? Other possibilities, e.g. *εὐρὸ κρατεῖ* (glossing *εὐρυκράτων, εὐρύσπα?*), seem more implausible. *Δημη[τ]ρίω* (Ixion?) is conceivable for what follows.

10 *Ζη[ν]υδοῦται* (Lobel).

*Ἀριστο[φ]*: Aristophanes, presumably, since Aristonicus is regularly abbreviated (ii 21, 34, iii 35) and Aristotle is unlikely (and *Ἀρίστα[ρχος]* is hardly to be read). Mention both of linguistic *συνήθεια* (12) and of comedy (14 ff.) accords well with what we know of Aristophanes' scholarly activities. On the other hand, we should not expect the commentator to be in a position to cite an explanation by him (iii 33 ff. is of a rather different order, since the reason given may be merely an inference from the reading), and constructions are available which avoid making him the subject of *δεῖκνός* in the next line, e.g. *Ἀριστο[φ]άνει Ἀρ[ιστο]νικ[ος] δὲ λέγει δεῖκνός κτλ.*

11 f. As Mr Lobel noted, if *Ἀθηνα[ίων . . .] σνήθεια* is to be recognized, it may be supposed to relate to the same lemma as *νῦν τὸν τόπον ἔφη Ἀττικῶς ἐν ᾧ εἴωθε συνίστασθαι τὰ νέφη* 104 D-schol. (whence Eust. 1884 end). Cf. c.g. *Od.* 18. 367 *κατὰ τὴν Ἀττικὴν σνήθειαν ἀκουστέον* Q.

13 *ὥς?* Not e.g. *Ἀττικῶς* or *ψευδῶς*, for the lower right of the letter before *ω* would be visible. *τ[ι]νες?*

14 *ἴγοι: παρ' Ἀθηνα[ίων]* (c.g.) not excluded, but *ἴν* preferable.

14 ff. *νικο[φ]*. From what remains of the next two lines one may guess that we have here the name of a comic poet. If so, *Νικοφῶν* appears to be the only name compatible with the indications. (So Mr Lobel.) *Νικόλαος* might be an alternative (cf. *ZPE* 44 (1981) 167 f.), but the position of the speck of ink is better suited to *φ* than to *λ*.

The short gap which the scribe has left before *σαν* suggests the quotation may begin at this point. *ὦς Νικοφ[ῶν] ἐν c. 12 -]αῖς (Ἀφροδίτης γοναῖς?)* "ξάν κτλ? Apparently iambic trimeter. *ἐὰν τρέχης / α[- - - × - - ]αε βλέψεις πάνυ /* seems the likeliest metrical disposition; [- - -] would hardly fill the space. But there is no gap after *πάνυ*, so *π[ι]* may continue the quote.

17 *ἀνακόλου]θα* (c.g.) *γάρ κα[ί] νῦν* ('here too') *εἶρη[ται]?*

18 Perhaps *π[ι]άνυ* (quoted from 16?); not -ου.

*ἐπ[ε]ί τοι* would fit the space, *ἐπὶ τοῖς* not.

19 -]ος ἔστιν (ἔστιν?) [δ]τι ἀντ[- (ἀντ[ι τοῦ, ἀντ[ιοῦται)? But other articulations are open, e.g. [α]τίαν.

20 φήμην or φήμυν in the lemma (which probably this is)? φήμην is the received reading, but Eustathius on v. 100 (1885. 3) reports that πολλὰ τῶν ἀντιγράφων have φήμυν for φήμην there: presumably in 105 too, where φήμυν is in fact presented by HXU. No comment on the reading here, apparently.

21 f. Possibly [ε]ρο- in 21 (preceded by -το· and space), and λέγε]τα[ι] ὅτι οὐδ[χ] ἱερά vel sim. in 22. Controversy whether the function of ἀλετριδεε was religious? Eustathius ad loc. (1885. 10-17) distinguishes the Homeric meaning from the definitions of the Athenian ἀλετριδεε given by lexica (and drawn from commentaries on Old Comedy, no doubt; cf. e.g. Hesych. s.v. and Schol. Ar. *Lys.* 643).

22 end κρ[ιθ]-, Κρ[άτης δέ, al.

23 πληραία and τοι, for the paradoxis' πλερίων and οί, may either be supposed simple errors (so Mr Lobel) or be taken seriously as ancient readings. In the latter case πληραία will imply 106 as beginning a new sentence, in asyndeton (. . . ἀλετριε· / πληραία εἶθ' ἄρα τοι μύλαι κτλ); εἶθθα would then be strictly demonstrative. (It may be noted in passing that πλερίων, not the OCT's πλερίων, is unquestionably the correct reading at *Il.* 6. 245-9. It is the only reading apparently known to the scholiasts and to Eustathius, and the evidence of the parallel passages is unequivocal: *Od.* 5. 71, 2. 149, *Il.* 23. 732; *Il.* 3. 115 and *Od.* 14. 14, far from being counterinstances, clinch the matter, for in both cases the adjective would be unmetrical, and hence the adverb is brought into play.) For ancient discord over the choice between τοι and οί, cf. e.g. *Il.* 4. 129, 10. 129, 13. 358, and note *Od.* 532 (ἀλλ' εἴ οἱ codd., εἴ δ' ἄρα τοι P<sup>31</sup>); S. West, *Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer* 244).

24 Probably πλεθοντ]ικῶς (cf. the sing. in 111) or θηλ]ικῶς (cf. Schol. Ar. *Vesp.* 648); otherwise ῥητορ]ικῶς (A. Dyck), καταχρηστ]ικῶς. Cf. the scholia at *Od.* 7. 104, which offer a variety of interpretations. πρὸς or πρὸς τὸ 'with reference to': πρὸς τὸμ [μύλον or τὸ μ[υλαίων is thinkable (μύλος is Ap. Soph.'s gloss on μύλη, μυλαίων is koine), as is τὸ ἀλ[ήθειαν, but neither is an attractive reading, and I can make no suggestion for the supralineation.

25 Mr Lobel noted that εἶατο is the reading of the medieval MSS in this place but that the D-schol. has εἶατο, ψιλῶς, ἦ, ἦσαν (cf. Eust. 1885. 40 ff. and Scholl. *Il.* 15. 10), and that εἶατο is found also as a variant of ἦατο, e.g. *Il.* 3. 149.

After the lacuna ]ηεμ is a possible reading: ε]ἶατο· [Ἀρ(ιστό)νι(κόσ) φ]ηεν [δ]α[εέωσ vel sim.]. Aristophanes approved εἶατο (Schol. A *Il.* 24. 84), Aristarchus εἶατο (Schol. AT *ibid.*, Schol. A *Il.* 15. 10, quoting the present verse; Herodian supported aspiration). Perhaps Ἀριε[τ-, of one or the other, in 26.

33 *margin.* ζή(τε) λό(γον), 'check the reference'. For the abbreviations cf. K. McNamee, *Abbreviations in Greek Literary Papyri and Ostraca*, *BASP* Suppl. 3 (1981), s.vv. (add XXIII 2368 ii 9 *margin.*), and on ζή(τε) see Turner, *GMAW*, p. 66. Cf. also 3716 i 945/6 *margin.*

39f. ]τηλε. Mention of Telemachus seems probable here (so Mr Lobel), and possible also at 35f.; otherwise e.g. λέξει. Cf. next note.

42 (ἀ)φιλος]τόργωι. Of Telemachus' attitude to his mother as indicated by his speech of 129-33? 40f. might then be on the lines of οὔτε | [μέμφεσθαι τῇ μητρὶ οὐ]τ' ἐπαινεῖν. Cf. Schol. Q on 131, οὐ διαβάλλει τὴν μητέρα, ἀλλὰ λέγει ὅτι τοὺς μὲν πτωχοὺς εὐαγγελιζομένους περὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς τιμᾶ καίπερ ψευδομένους, τοὺς δὲ ἀγαθοὺς διὰ τὸ μὴ ψεῦδεσθαι ἀτιμάζει, *sim.* Eust. 1884. 10 ff. The discussion continues down to 49, to judge from 48 ἀλ]ηθεύοντα(c) (where any trema on the final υ will have been lost).

43 ἀλ]ητεύων or πεν]ητεύων (e.g. ἐὰν πεν]ητεύων ἐλ[θη, cf. πτωχοὺς in Schol. Q cited in prec. n.), or προφ]ητεύων (prophesying Odysseus' return, cf. εὐαγγελιζομένους in Schol. *cit.*; e.g. ἐλ[πιδόκοπει)? Either way, apologetic explication of 132 f. seems probable. Otherwise, verse: the next line could be referring to verses not carried by all manuscripts (ἐν τικιν οὐ] φέρονται vel sim.); cf. *Od.* 16. 101 ἔλθοι ἀλητεύων κτλ, an obelized verse; but this is perhaps not very likely.

44 φερεται changed into φερο<sup>v</sup>ται, all in a cursive hand which perhaps reappears at the end of 52 and elsewhere. Evidently the copyist had trouble reading his exemplar (damaged, or just hard to read?), and left space; cf. e.g. XLIV 3151 fr. 2. 6, and the testimony of the scribe of Cod. Reg. Paris. 1671 of Plutarch quoted by F. W. Hall, *Companion* 187. καλῶς] φέρονται, etc. etc.

45 (?ἀπ- συν)ή]ρημένοι, (δι)ήμα]ρημένοι ('faulty', in criticism of the *κτήχοι*)? Other articulations, e.g. ἐο]ρητῆ μὲν οὐ]κείων, are not excluded.

46 τῆς μη[τρ]ός. Cf. on 42 above.

47 ἀτη]μέλη[τ]ο[ρ] [on 130 ἀκηδής (so the D-schol.) cannot be ruled out, but a med.-pass. participle, -μεν-, seems likelier.

50 ff. (-)κ]έχρηται λέξει (Lobel). καινή vel sim.? Οὐ ἐμπλήγηδην, no doubt, which will have stood at the



start of the lemma in 49. 51 f. will be ἐ]μπελάζουσα τοῖς | [πράγμασι, as Mr Lobel noted, comparing the scholia and Eustathius ad loc., esp. D-schol. ἐμπληκτικῶς. ἢ ἀκρίτως καὶ ὡς ἂν τύχη ἐμπελάζουσα τοῖς πράγμασι. Cf. Schol. Pi. O. 8. 30, Schol. S. Aj. 135B, and esp. Apollon. Soph. 67. 28, who adds that Aristarchus, in his commentary on *Od.* xx (i.e. on this verse), glossed it εὐμεταβόλως; it is especially unfortunate that the present commentary's entry cannot be reconstructed.

‘εὐ seems to have been written by the first hand, υ changed to μ and πληκτα added in a more cursive script’ Lobel.

παρὰ τὸ ῥῆμα’ (‘from the verb’ sc. ἐμπλήρσειν), ἐπίρρημα’? An alternative explanation to the previous line’s? μ’ or μ<α>? The elision in such context is unexpected.

col. ii. There is no way of telling how many lines, if any, are missing from the top of the column. Evidently the discussion still concerns 132 f. or vicinity.

2 πρ]οστιθῆ[ει, of textual ‘addition’, has some likelihood, in view of the hexameter verse quoted below. It is not carried in the vulgate—in fact is otherwise unknown—so is probably post-Aristarchean (but note *Od.* 2. 51ab). The papyrus presumably gave the name of the alleged interpolator, as at iii 40 below; possibilities include Zenodotus of Mallos, as there, and Crates himself (cf. *Il.* 14. 246ab).

3-7 -νος or -νον ἰκάνει 6, as Mr Lobel noted, is to all appearances the end of a hexameter. I presume this is the ‘added’ material (see prec. n.): appended to the end of Telemachus’ speech, or to the beginning of Eurycleia’s? And just where in the papyrus does the quote start? It looks as if it extends at least as far back as 4 οὐδ’ ἐτι --], and I think the most likely supposition is two full verses, beginning in l. 3. But is the starting-point Τηλ]έμαχ’ οὐ κτλ, in which case the verses will have begun Eurycleia’s reply (134ab), or should we supply something like τῆι ῥήσει Τηλ]εμάχου and take α[ as the starting-point, in which case the verses will have concluded or followed Telemachus’ address (133ab)? If α[ is rightly read in l. 3, the former option becomes unattractive (nothing more promising than οὐα[τα?); and while the size of the lacuna in l. 4 cannot be said to be determinative either way, it looks rather on the generous side for a supplement which would be υυ-υυ at most. So I think the quoted addition, consisting of two verses, commences at 3 α[. The following further assumptions then seem to me probable: the verses belong to Telemachus; the second verse begins at 5 ]η; part of ἀνθρώπος is to be recognized; so is δέ; and the object of this last clause is Penelope. But not one of these is assured. A structure such as οὐδέ τι π[άμπαν] | | ἢ π[ί]η ἀνθρώ[ποις], μάτην δέ μ[ιν αἰ]γος ἰκάνει can be thought of, but entirely different reconstructions are available: πυ]μάτην, θα]μά, αἰ]μα; δ’ ἐλ[εει]γός, δέρο[ς αἰ]γόν; etc. We need a better prior understanding of the verses’ gist than is attainable.

An odd but perhaps insignificant resemblance to another addition in this book is ἦτοι μὲν τε βροτῶν ἄλλοις ᾧ πένθος ἰκάνει (l. ὄν πένθος ἰκάνη?) written in the margin of U by the troublesome verse 83.

There is no indication whether περίφρων or φίλη τροφός (as P. Ryl. I 53, JU) was read in 134.

6 τέκνον may have ended the line, or ἀν(αίτιον) vel sim. may have followed.

7-9 The given restoration is Mr Lobel’s. This will be the first explicit attestation of the Zenodotean and Cyprian ‘editions’ of the *Odyssey*, though Zenodotus’ readings are cited often enough.

The paradosis for 135 is οὐκ ἂν μιν νῦν, τέκνον, ἀνάτιον αἰτιώω. In l. 8 we look for a variant (7 ἀντί τοῦ). None is recorded, either for this verse or for comparable verses elsewhere. Perhaps “ἐτ[ήτ]ημον αἰτ[ιόω]ιο”. Then ἂν’ ὕ]πακουσθῆι “οὐ[τ]ως”, I should suppose, meaning that οὐ[τ]ως is to be ‘understood’, i.e. mentally supplied (*subauditum*; cf. Schol. A *Il.* 1. 580-3, 2. 681-5, 7. 353, 14. 416, 15. 11, 155, 19. 386): ‘you would not with truth accuse her (thus)’.

10f. The distinction, as Mr Lobel noted, is here more precise than as drawn by Eust. 1471. 34 δηλοῖ δὲ ὁ κοῖτος μὲν τὴν κοίτην. αὐτῆ δὲ τὴν ἀνάκλιον δι’ ἣς ὕπνος περιγίνεται. Our commentator may possibly have taken this from Herennius Philo’s collection of differentiated synonyms (on which see Erbse, *Beiträge zur Überlieferung der Iliasscholien* ii 5, and Ammon. *de adfinitium vocabulorum differentia* ed. Nickau); but of course an earlier source cannot be ruled out.

On the prefatory ὄτι, as again at 32 below, see E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri* 115.

12f. An εἴγμον of δέμνια, if I have rightly reconstructed. Cf. Apollon. Soph. s.v., τὰ στρώματα, ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸ δέμας ἐν αὐτοῖς μένειν.

14 εἶρ[ηται, εἰ ῥ[ηται? εἶρ[ωνικῶς less likely. Eustathius of this phrase notes (1887. 13), ἐπί τινος ῥηθήσεται χαμαικοιτοῦτος ἕκοντι.

15 παρακολουθῆ?

16 Rather than (-)πέσωμεν (hex.-end? trim.-start? cf. next line) perhaps ὄ]τι ἔσω μὲν: of Odysseus’ refusal to sleep inside?

17 (ἐ)μοὶ δοκεῖ is the obvious articulation. A first-person reference on the part of the commentator would be a surprise; but hardly a quotation? In paraphrastic exegesis of the speculative nature of Euryclcia's ὡς τις κτλ?

18-20 What seems to be under discussion is the form κώεω, 142, held to presuppose τὸ κῶος. Cf. Eust. on *Od.* 3. 38 (145b. 22 ff.), δῆλον δὲ ὅτι τὸ κώεω οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ κῶας γίνεσθαι, ἦν γὰρ ἂν κώεω ὡς κρέεω, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ κῶος, κατὰ τὸ βέλος βέλεω κτλ; and Herodian recognized κῶος alongside κῶας (π. παθῶν fr. 134, 340). Thus l. 20 is probably κῶος ἀλλ' οὐχὶ [κῶας (for οὐχὶ cf. iii 4). 19 e.g. ὦ]ς ἐκεῖ ποιῆ τ[ὸ] (ποιητ[ικῶς too long?] 18? κῶ]εω corr. in -αω (the marginal stroke indicating something amiss with the text of the commentary, as at iii 8, or an *ancora* signalling an omission made good in the upper margin)? The dat. pl. of δέπας then adduced (cf. Schol. b *Il.* 1. 471), supralin. ὡς τὸ δέπας, δ[ε]πάεω *vel sim.* (though that is not morphologically analogous)? Then e.g. εἰ δὲ κώεω, 'but if κώεω (*sc.* rather than κῶας), (κῶος not κῶας is implied); *vel sim.* Where was the 142 lemma, l. 18 or earlier?

21 That Αρῆ should be expanded to Αριστόνικος, not Αριστοφάνης, was proposed by Lobel on XXIV 2387 fr. 1 marg., cf. on XXXVII 2803 fr. 1. 4 marg., on the ground that αρῆ<sup>1</sup> was also found (I do not know where). Even without other confirmations, e.g. Ν as a heading = νίκη (H. C. Youtie, *Scriptunculae Posteriores* i 1-16), in the present papyrus Αριστόνικος is clearly correct. For other occurrences see K. McNamee, *Abbreviations*, 10.

What did Aristonicus say? That the dogs were on leads held by servants? Cf. προσήνεγκαν οἱ κυνουλοὶ τὴν θήλειαν κύναν . . . τετελευτηκυῖαν PSA Athen. 2. 2. (So Mr Lobel.) φη[ει]ν [ε]ν[ε]ν[ε]ν[ε]ν [π]ρ[ο]ς[ὸ]ς could be read. Perhaps countering such interpretations of the phrase as those attested for *Od.* 2. 11, which set store by the absence of attendants (Scholl. *Od.* 2. 10, 11).

22-7 One note on ἀγρεύετε, two on κορήσατε.

22-4 'ἀγρεύετε is only an exhortation, ἄγετε is less so, for it is also an imperative.' The distinction here drawn between ἀγρεύετε (and ἄγρει) and ἄγετε (and ἄγε) is not immediately transparent. Mr Lobel perceived discrepancy with comments on these words elsewhere, and adduced the ἐπιμερισμοί (*An. Ox.* i 71. 23), where ἄγρει is referred to the προστακτικὰ ῥήματα (and ἐπιρρήματα), Schol. B *Il.* 11. 512 εἰς δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄγρει παρορμητικὸν ἐπιρρημα, τὸ δὲ ἄγε παρακλευστικόν, and also Eustathius on *Il.* 1. 62 τὸ ἄγε οὐκ ἔστι καθαρώς ῥήμα προστακτικὸν ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπιρρημα παρακλευστικὸν κατὰ τὸ ἄγρει ('ἄγε is not purely an imperative verb but functions as an exhortative adverb') and on the present passage καθάπερ ἄγε καὶ ἄγετε παρακλευστικῶς οὕτω νῦν μὲν ἀγρεύετε ἐν δὲ Ἰλιάδι ἐνικῶς ('just as ἄγε and ἄγετε are used exhortatively so here ἀγρεύετε and in the *Iliad* in the singular'). The comment in the papyrus may be understood as meaning that ἄγρει and ἀγρεύετε are used (in Homer) exclusively as exhortative adverbs, while ἄγε and ἄγετε function not only so but also as imperatives. Cf. *EM* s.v. βάλε, 186. 36-8, ὡς περ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄγε προστακτικοῦ ῥήματος μετατιθεμένου γίνεσθαι ἐπιρρημα παρακλευστικόν. Such a statement seems sufficiently in line not only with the facts (cf. Bechtel, *Lexilogus* 8f.) but also with authorities such as Dionysius Thrax (ἄγε classified as an exhortative adverb, p. 82 Uhlig, cf. Heliod. ad loc. 101. 8-12 Hilgard, adding imperative use) and Herodian (ἄγρει an adverb with a plural, i 504. 13-16 Lentz, citing the present verse, cf. ii 383. 9-11, 463. 30). Apollon. Soph. on ἄγρει, 6. 20-3, quoting *Il.* 5. 765, *Od.* 21. 176, and, for the plural, the present verse, merely signals equivalence with ἄγε, ἄγετε and labels the usage παρακλευστικῶς.

24-6 'According to Parmeno of Byzantium κορεῖν is Athenian for καλλύνειν.' This scholar is cited by the Geneva scholia on *Il.* 21. 259 and 262 and by Schol. B (*man. rec.*) on *Il.* 1. 591 for dialectal equivalents of ἀχετός and κατάντης and of οὐρανός. From Ath. 11. 500b, where also he appears as Παρμένων, it is assumed that his book was called περὶ διαλέκτων (-του em. Meineke). It is now evident that Parmeno not Parmenio was his name; and I should have thought it more likely than not that he is identical with Parmeno of Byzantium the choliambographer, in which case he may with probability be dated to the 3rd c. BC. This has consequences for the relations between the glossographers and the Homeric critics, and for the history of glossography, which cannot be explored here.

Mr Lobel wrote: 'κορεῖν, 'sweep', is prescribed for Attic by Phrynichus; e.g. Eup. 157 λαβῶν τὸ κόρημα τὴν αὐτὴν κόρει. καλλύνειν, (συγκαλλύνειν), 'sweep, (sweep together)', seems to appear first in Aristotle (*Prob.* 936<sup>b</sup>27).

Apollonius Sophista glosses κορήσατε with καλλύνατε. A. Dyck suggests that our commentary is his source both for that and for the etymology of δέμνια at ii 12f. I would hesitate to accept this, however, for negative evidence apart, our commentary glosses κορήσατε with καθήρατε, not καλλύνατε (the two notes seem quite discrete), and the etymology of δέμνια was presumably available elsewhere than here. I

should be more inclined to think in terms of common source material than of direct dependence of either one upon the other.

26f. *κορήσατε* κτλ. Cf. Schol. BQ on 152 (misplaced from 149, I take it), *καθάρατε. ἔνθεν κόρημα. τοιγαροῦν κόρη ἢ καθαρά;* Eust. 1887. 34 ἢ ἀπ' ἀνδρὸς καθαρά; *Suda* in *κόρη*, *παρὰ τὸ κορὴ τὸ καθαίρω*. On the etymology A. Dyck adds: 'closest parallel is Et. Orion. G (81. 4 Sturz: in sede Apollodori [cf. 80. 15 and 81. 12]): *καὶ κόρη ἢ παρθένος, ἢ καθαρὰν καὶ ἀφθορον ἔχουσα τὴν ἡλικίαν*, whence the doctrine entered the Byz. etymologica: Et. Gud. w (338. 7 Sturz); EM 529. 34; Zon. 1237.'

28-31 The commentator is anxious to assign a worthy motive for her urgings—not (as had been charged?) a concern for the comfort of the suitors, but a concern to have the servant-women return as quickly as possible to their wool-work within the palace (cf. 18. 313-16, 22. 421-3).

31 'Service is a Roman custom.' Rather opaque. There seems nothing particularly Roman about the activities enjoined in Eurycleia's speech, nor about wool-working (though Mr Lobel did adduce the commendation *lanam fecit* frequently found on Roman ladies' gravestones). A. Dyck would refer the remark to the suitors' early arrival, 155f., as being compared to the Roman *salutatio*, but in that case the note is misplaced; and the *διακονία* is surely the maids'. We may recall that according to Aristodemus of Nysa (*FHG* iii 307) Homer was a Roman (*vit. Hom.* vi, 18-23 Allen): this on the basis of certain exclusively Roman customs to be found in the Homeric poems—such as the game of *πεσσοί*!<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hillscher, *Jahrb. f. klass. Philol.* Suppl. 18 (1892) 355-444. The present note, which may refer specifically to the chair coverings (there must be some reason for the lemma's being 151 in particular, but the previous remark, *ταῦτα . . . λέγει*, seems to refer to the whole speech), evidently belongs if not to Aristodemus then to a like-minded critic—active in Rome?

32f. On the note on *οἴσετε* ('= *φέρετε*') Mr Lobel wrote: 'Eust. 1887, 63 *ποιητικῶς κανονίζεται ὡς παρατακτικὸς ἀπὸ μέλλοντος ἀναδραμόντος εἰς ἐνεστώτα. οἶκον γὰρ οὐ παρατακτικὸς οἶκον, τὸ τρίτον οἶκε, τὸ προστακτικὸν ὁμοφώνως οἴσει. οὐ πληθυντικὸν τὸ οἴσετε*. Cf. 1934, 59 ad *Od.* xxii 481. But the nearest to what is found here is not in the *Odyssey* scholia but ad *Il.* xv 718, *ὅτι οἴσετε ἀντὶ τοῦ φέρετε* schol. A, T (with additions), iii 103 *πρὸς τὸ οἴσετε, ὅτι οὐ μέλλοντός ἐστι χρόνου, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τοῦ φέρετε, κτλ.*, schol. A.'

34ff. 'Acc. to Arn. it was then new moon, which is why (the feast was) Apollo's, since he is the same as the sun. That eclipses (occur only) at new moon is made clear by Aristarchus of Samos, as follows: "According to Thales the sun is eclipsed when the moon gets in front of it, the day of eclipse—called the thirtieth by some, new moon by others—being marked by the obscuration(?). Heraclitus: "When the moons/months meet, it changes days—day before, new-moon, second(?)—sometimes fewer, sometimes more, from the moment it appears." Diodorus gives this explanation(?) of it: "For since the moon is obscured as it approaches the sun at the month ends, when it falls into the rays(?) of the sun, disappearing from view for a short while, but then reappears from them(?), the month (is reckoned as beginning?) when it makes its first (appearance) out of the (rays); new moon . . . (col. iii) . . . not appearance . . . in mid-obscuriation(?) . . . most absolute(?) . . . the curtailed phases(?) (if?) the moon, when it makes its appearance on the third day(?) appears at its full-moon phase on the sixteenth, within fourteen days, it wanes for the short-fall(?) within 13 days. For if it was full moon within 14 days, after beginning to make its appearance on the 13th (i. the 3rd?), at new moon obviously it was not yet making its appearance to them(?), so that since in this case(?), when it makes its first possible appearance, on new moon day, it is full-moon at the 14th, when it makes its latest possible appearance, on the 3rd, full-moon occurs at the earliest in 14 days, at the 16th(?)'"

34f. Cf. the D-schol. on 155f., *ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν ἑορτὴν καὶ νομηνίαν παρατίθεται Ἀπόλλωνος ἱεράν, σίμν. Eust. 1887. 20 ff. Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερά, τουτέστιν ἡλίου, ὃς αἴτιος νομηνίας κυνοδεύων τηλικαῦτα τῆι ἐελήνηι.*

34 Eust. loc. cit. *διὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν νομηνία γὰρ ἐστίν*. This is in accordance with Odysseus' predicted return *τοῦ μὲν φθίνοντος μηνός, τοῦ δ' ἵσταμένου*, 19. 307 = 14. 162, see scholl. on 14. 162 and cf. Plu. *Sol.* 25. 3. Cf. Wilamowitz, *Homeriche Untersuchungen* 54f.

35 *ὅθεν Ἀ[πόλ]λωνος*. Cf. 20. 276 and 21. 258, with scholl. For the association of *νομηνία* with Apollo see Nilsson, *Entstehung u. relig. Bedeutung des gr. Kalenders*<sup>2</sup> 31, 38f., 40f.; cf. 'Hdt.' *Vit. Hom.* 26.

*ὁ αὐτὸς ἡλίω*. Cf. esp. Heraclit. *All. H.* 6. 6 ff., *ὅτι μὲν τοῖνον ὁ αὐτὸς Ἀπόλλων ἡλίω, κτλ.*, citing Apollodorus

<sup>1</sup> *Ἀριστόδημος δ' ὁ Νυσαεὺς Ῥωμαίων αὐτὸν ἀποδείκνυεν ἐκ τινων ἐθῶν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις μόνον γινομένων, τοῦτο μὲν ἐκ τῆς τῶν πεσσοῶν παιδιᾶς, τοῦτο δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπανίστασθαι τῶν θάκων τοὺς ἤσσανας τῶν βελτίστων ἐκόντας, ἃ καὶ νῦν ἐτι φυλάσσειται παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἔθη. (Should not ὑπανίστασθαι be read for ἐπανίστασθαι, and τοὺς βελτίστων for τῶν βελτίστων? Cf. Hdt. 2. 80. 1.)*

of Athens (*FGrHist* 244 F \*98); and in the context of the first of the month, Philoch. *ap.* Schol. Procl. Hes. *Op.* 770 with the D-schol. here (*FGrHist* 328 F 88), and Schol. Pi. *Nem.* 3. 4.

36 ἐν νομηνίαι αἱ ἐκλείψεις. That solar eclipses occur only at new moon had long been recognized, cf. Th. 2. 28 and Plu. *Nic.* 23. Cf. on 38f. below.

The relevance of (solar) eclipses may go deeper than their providing a solution for the question ‘What has Apollo to do with the new moon?’, a question to which the only astronomical answer was in terms of the monthly conjunction (cf. Eust. cit. on 34f. above). I should guess that there is an underlying connection with Theoclymenus’ vision of the suitors’ impending doom, 20. 351–7 (. . . ἥλιος δὲ οὐρανοῦ ἐξαπόλωλε, κακῆ δ’ ἐπιδέδρομεν ἀχλύς), which was understood by some in antiquity as indicating an actual eclipse and related to Odysseus’ return at new moon: Scholl. and Eust. on 357, Heraclit. *All.* 75. 1–7, Plu. *vit. Hom.* 108, *de fac. lun.* 931 F (cf. A. Shewan, *CW* 21 (1928) 196–8, T. L. MacDonald, *Journ. Brit. Astron. Assoc.* 77 (5) (1967) 324–7; N. Austin, *Archery at the Dark of the Moon* (1975) ch. 5). Such an interpretation integrates the Homeric data on the time of Odysseus’ return, the feast of Apollo, and the *σημεῖα* of the slaughter.

37 ff. How far does the quotation from Aristarchus of Samos extend? To l. 43, where it is broken off (NB ὁ μὲν Θαλῆς)? In that case the quotation from Heraclitus that follows may be drawn from the same source as its exegesis, i.e. from Diodorus. But it may be better to suppose that Aristarchus continued ὁ δὲ Ἡράκλειτος . . . , and has been cut down.

38f. Cf. Aët. *Pl.* ii 24 (*Doxogr. Gr.* 353) Θαλῆς πρῶτος ἔφη ἐκλείπειν τὸν ἥλιον τῆς ἐελήνης αὐτὸν ὑπερχομένης κατὰ κάθετον (added by Mr Lobel) and also Eudemus — Aristarchus’ source? — reported by Dercyllides *ap.* Theo Sm. 198. 14–17 Hiller (DK A 17, Eudem. fr. 145 Wehrli): Εὐδῆμος ἰστορεῖ ἐν ταῖς Ἀστρολογίαις ὅτι . . . Θαλῆς . . . <τὴν τοῦ> (suppl. Haslam) ἡλίου ἐκλείψιν (sc. εὔρε πρῶτος). I do not know if Thales’ alleged understanding of the cause of solar eclipses has ever been understood as inferentially resting on the observation that they occur only at conjunction. (Prediction, attested for Thales by Hdt. 1. 74, is of course another matter; see O. Neugebauer, *Hist. Anc. Math. Astron.*, esp. ii 604.) Though ascription specifically to Thales will remain dubious (cf. Dicks, *CQ* 53 (1959) 294–309, esp. 295f.), the suggestion that the moon is responsible for eclipses of the sun by blocking off its light is one which might well have been made at such an early date, or so it seems to me; it would have been an obvious hypothesis that the moon had *something* to do with it. Cf. Gem. 8. 14, 10. 6. Zeno the Stoic, DL 7. 146, was presumably able to explain also why they did not happen every month.

39 ἐπιπροσθεν reflects the technical terminology, ἐπιπροσθεῖν, ἐπιπρόσθησις; cf. Aristarchus’ own phrasing in *On the sizes and distances of sun and moon*, prop. 8, p. 382. 5f. Heath, ἐπει γάρ, εὖν ἐκλείπη ὁ ἥλιος, δι’ ἐπιπρόσθεσιν τῆς ἐελήνης ἐκλείπει (where I would change ἐπιπρόσθεσιν to -θησις; *vv.ll.* at e.g. Arist. *de caelo* 293<sup>b</sup>22, Theo Sm. 192. 22 Hiller). Cf. e.g. Theo Sm. 193. 6f. H. ὁ δὲ ἥλιος ὑπὸ μὲν τῆς ἐελήνης ἐπιπροσθεῖται, 194. 25 H. ἡ ἐελήνη ἐπιπροσθεν γένηται, DL 7. 145 ἐκλείπειν δὲ τὸν μὲν ἥλιον ἐπιπροσθούσης αὐτῷ ἐελήνης, Achill. gram. *Isag. in Arat. Phaen.* c. 19, p. 46. 32–47. 1 Maass, Gem. 10. 1–6, Cleom. 192. 14f. Ziegler.

40 σημειομε[νης] passive rather than middle? Did the lacuna house what it is that marks the day of eclipse? The traces are incompatible with τῆι συνῶδωι, ‘conjunction’, but would suit τῆι κρύψει, sc. of the moon, cf. on 48 ff. below. This, rather than ἡμέρας, may then be the referent of the ἤν-clause, 42, for solar eclipses, unlike the κρίσις/τριακάς/νομηνία, are not monthly events.

σημειομε[νος] ‘making the inference’ would give an alternative line of approach. Dr Rea tentatively suggests ἐκ τῆς | ῥητῆς | ἡμέρας κτλ ‘from the fixed day’.

41 ἐκλείψιν ποιεῖσθαι i. q. ἐκλείπειν’ Lobel.

41–3 As calendaric terms, τριακάς is the last day of the month (the Attic ἔνη καὶ νέα), νομηνία the first. The count of the lunar month’s days, with νομηνία as day 1, is generally thought to have begun, at least nominally, not with the day of conjunction itself (the time of astronomical new moon being — except at solar eclipse — a matter not of observation but of computation) but with the moon’s first reappearance to view, which occurs after sunset on the first, second, or third evening following conjunction (cf. on 48 ff. below). But in scientific usage νομηνία, like ‘new moon’ with us, was naturally applied to astronomical new moon, i.e. conjunction; so in l. 36 above (cf. Th. 2. 28, an eclipse νομηνία κατὰ ἐελήνην). And the day of conjunction could be assigned to the old month, and hence called τριακάς, with no less legitimacy than to the new. (Cf. Plu. *Sol.* 25, on ἔνη καὶ νέα, the ‘old and new’ day, as being so called from the observation that the moon τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας καὶ καταλαμβάνουσαν καὶ παρερχομένην τὸν ἥλιον. Geminus is one who defines τριακάς as the day of conjunction, 8. 1, 8. 14, 9. 6, as distinct from νομηνία, 8. 11, 9. 7, 9. 14; cf. Schol. Procl. Hes. *Op.* 765, Eust. 1908. 51 on *Od.* 21. 263.) (The correlation of lunar phenomena with the calendar, particularly at

month-juncture, is a notoriously thorny subject, see most recently Pritchett, *ZPE* 49 (1982) 243-66, with scattered bibliography.)

43 *Ἡράκλειτος*. Presumably, as the Ionic forms suggest, the sixth-century Ephesian, the so-called *σκοτεινός*. Diogenes Laertius' purported summary of Heraclitus' doctrines includes statements on eclipses and on the phases of the moon (DL 9. 10, Heracl. A 1 DK, cf. A 12 DK; fr. 61 Marcovich), but nothing that coheres at all well with the quotation offered here.

43 ff. *ευνιόντων τῶν μηνῶν*: i.e. at month-juncture.

Of *ἡμέρας*, Mr Lobel noted: 'barring error accusative plural, not genitive singular (with which the article would be expected), and if so, to be construed with *ἐλάσσονα* . . . *πλεονα*, either as the object of *μεταβάλλεται* or accusative of time elapsed.'

Heraclitus seems to be saying that there is a variable number of days—between one month and the next? Cf. Cleom. 202. 24 Ziegler *αἰ δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον εἰσοδοὶ τῆς σελήνης οὐκ αἰεὶ τὸν ἴσον τοῦ χρόνου διάστημα φυλάττουσι*. The maximum variation in the length of the lunar month (synodic revolution) is in the order of 13 hrs., but successive months rarely vary more than an hour. More to the point, perhaps, the fact that the lunar month happens to be about 29½ days long means that calendars cannot have a constant number of days per month without quickly getting out of step with the moon: by Heraclitus' time calendar months were variably of 29 and 30 days. Or is it the number of days around the new-moon phase that is said to vary?—for that proves likewise variable. That would be an intelligible observation, and one which the following exegesis by Diodorus might well be intended to elucidate (cf. on 48 ff. below). Might *προτέρη*, *νουμηνίη*, *δευτέρη* represents three successive days? (This is the interpretation I have adopted in the translation attempted at 34 above.) But it would be an unusual calendar that classified the last of the month as 'the day before new moon', and in any case I am not sure that *προτέρη* could bear this meaning. Alternatively, the *προτέρη* *νουμηνίη* and the *δευτέρη* (*νουμηνίη*) might be *two* successive days: in 30-day months the new-moon-day might be doubled. But I know of no system that operated a month-beginning adjustment to the day-count rather than a month-end one, and on this interpretation *δευτέρη* should be *ἑστέρη*. For what little is known of the month's day-count at Ephesus see A. E. Samuel, *Gk. and Lat. Chronol.* 124. There can be no assurance that the text is sound.

47 *Διόδωρος*, as Mr Lobel suggested, is probably Diodorus of Alexandria (P-W(53)). Certainly the exposition here quoted is nicely in line with that Diodorus' definition of *ἡ μαθηματικὴ* ('astronomy') as opposed to *ἡ φυσικολογία*: *ἡ μὲν μαθηματικὴ τὰ παρεπόμενα τῇ οὐσίᾳ ζητεῖ, πόθεν καὶ πῶς ἐκλείμει γίνονται* (Eudorus *ap.* Achill. *gram. Isag. in Arat. Phaen.* 2, p. 30. 20-3 Maass). There is no telling how far the citation extends; right to the end of the note (iii 19)?

48 *αὐτό* the foregoing quotation? *ἐξαγειτο ἐξηγείται?* (Lobel).

48 ff. Diodorus' explanation is in terms of the phenomena around the time of the new moon. In the latter part of the month, from a terrestrial viewpoint, the moon gains on the sun day by day, waning accordingly and setting at progressively shorter intervals after sunset. As it approaches conjunction—which may occur at any time of day or night—its thinning crescent can no longer be made out, owing to its proximity to the light of the sun. The term for this state of invisibility (though it is no longer in astronomical use, but is confined to astrology) is 'combust'. Two or three days pass before the new, waxing crescent can be seen. (On the factors involved see Samuel 8-10, and cf. Neugebauer i 534 with iii fig. 76, Mommsen, *Chronologie, Kalenderwesen* 67-9. Amateur astronomers occasionally make naked-eye sightings of the moon less than 24 hours after conjunction: for discussion, and photographs, see *Sky and Telescope* 42 (1971) 78f., 43 (1972) 95f., 55 (1978) 358-61. Cf. also Plin., *NH* 2. 44, 18. 324.)

I take ll. 48-52 as referring to the moon's disappearance from view as it approaches conjunction, ll. 52-5 to its reappearance after; so that it is the combust period, the *interlunium*, that is under discussion.

In l. 51 *αὐτὰς* must I think be emended to *αὐγάς* (the same correction at Emp. fr. B 43 *ap.* Plu. *Mor.* 929 e, ?Ion [*TΓGF* i 19] fr. 57 *ap.* Plu. *Mor.* 658 c, Herod. 10. 4, and no doubt elsewhere; it does seem to be τ not γ that is written, so an emendation it would have to be): 'when it falls into the light of the sun'. Cf. astronomical descriptions of the lunar eclipse, at opposition: the moon *ἐμπίπτει εἰς τὴν τῆς γῆς σκιάν vel sim.* (c.g. Gem. 8. 14, Theo Sm. 193. 22 H., Cleom. 180. 9 Z.). Towards conjunction, it is into the solar *αὐγαί* that it falls. *αὐγαί* is standard terminology in the context of the combust state. Autolycus π. *ἐπιτολῶν καὶ δύσεων* was extensively concerned with this phenomenon in so far as it relates to stars; to enter the combust state is *περικαταλαμβάνεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ ἡλίου αὐγῶν* (1. 8), and to emerge from it is *ἐκφεύγειν τὰς τοῦ ἡλίου αὐγάς* (1. 1, 2. 1, *et saepe*). Cf. c.g. Schol. Arat. 735 on the *ἀρπαγμαία* moon (between waning crescent and new, i.e. the very last stage before conjunction; 373. 14f. Martin), *ἀφανῆς γὰρ λοιπὸν φαίνεται ὑπὸ τὰς τοῦ ἡλίου αὐγάς γενομένην*, Cleom. 180. 11-13

Z., Gem. 12. 7. Plu. *Qui Rom.* 24 (269c-d), on the Roman division of the month, distinguishes ὅτε κρύπτεται κύνοδοι ποιησαμένη πρὸς ἥλιον (Kalends) and ὅταν ἐκφυγοῦσα τὰς ἀγὰς τοῦ ἡλίου καταφανῆς πρῶτον ἐπὶ δυμῶν γένηται (Nones, connected by Plut. with νομηνία). The sun obscures, κρύπτει, heavenly bodies in two senses, (i) by actual epiprosthesis (at conjunction), and (ii) συνεγγύων καὶ καταναγύων (Theo Sm. 193. 8f. H.).

A framework on which Diodorus' passage may be hung is provided by Theo Sm. 137 H. An improper signification of the term δύσις is ὁ πρῶτος ἀφανισμὸς ἄστρου τινὸς ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ ἡλίου ἀγῶν; the correct term, he says, is κρύψις. The converse phenomenon, properly called φαῖσις (sic suppl. cdd.) but improperly ἀνατολή, is ἡ πρώτη φάσις (Martin: φαῖσις codd.) ἐκ τῶν τοῦ ἡλίου ἀγῶν. Cf. Gem. 13. 1-5. The treatises are more concerned with stars and planets than with the moon, but no matter; for lunar application cf. Plu. *loc. cit.* In the papyrus the terms κρύψις and φάσις both appear to occur in the next column (iii 5, 4).

52 ff. χρόν[ον ὀλέγου]ν (Lobel) or βραχῶν would fit before ἀφανισ[θε]ῖσα, and if the continuation is πάλιν δὲ ἐκφαίνεται vel sim., as might be suggested by 48f. ἀποκρύπτεται μὲν, perhaps ἐπ[ί] (Rea) rather than κα[ί] (Lobel) before χρόν[ον].

For the first part of 53 πάλιν | [δ'] ἀπ[ὸ] τῶν ἀ[ὐ]γῶν ἐκφαί[νεται] suggests itself as a reconstruction, but while ἀ[ὐ]γῶν is perfectly acceptable, neither ἐκ τῶν nor ἀπ[ὸ] τῶν is to be read before it; the traces are more suggestive of ]γτην, which leads to ἐα]γτην . . . ἐκφαί[νεται]. Will ἐα]γτην ἀ[ὐ]γῶν ἐκφαί[νεται] do, or is something like <ἀπ> ἀ[ὐ]γῶν or <ἀπὸ τῶν> ἀ[ὐ]γῶν called for?

Unless my understanding of the passage is quite astray, 54 ]μεις is more likely to be μεῖς than e.g. ἡ]μεις or δυνά]μεις. μῆν is the normal form in the treatises, but μεῖς is well attested. 53-5 could be on the lines of δῆλο]ν ὅτι | [ἀρχεται ὁ] μεῖς ὅταν τὴν ἐκ τῶν | [ἀγῶν φάσις]ν πρῶτως π[οιήσ]ηται. This would fit the space and the traces. Cf. Autol. 1. 8, (ἄστρα) τὴν ἑῶνα πρῶτην φάσιν ποιεῖται ἀφανισθέντα ἡμέρας τινὰς καὶ νύκτας.

If 53-5 is the main clause, the continuation may have been something like ν[ο]ν[ο]ν καλομένης τῆς ἡμέρας ἐν ἧμ πρώτως γίνεταί ἡ φάσις (or of course a new sentence). Or if we have just arrived at the end of the ἐπει- clause (e.g. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀποκρύπτεται μὲν ἡ σεληνή . . . καὶ χρόνον βραχὺν ἀφανισθεῖσα πάλιν ἑαυτὴν . . . ἐκφαίνεται, ἀρχεται δὲ ὁ μεῖς ὅταν τὴν . . . φάσιν πρῶτως ποιήσῃται), e.g. ν[ο]ν[ο]ν[ο]ν καλεῖται κατὰ δύο σημαινόμενα.

col. iii. At least 14 complete lines are lost from the top of the column.

3 μέ]ση? (ἄση, οὐκ ἔση?)

4 ὄ]χι φάσις well suits the traces; perhaps ὄ]τι ὄ]χι φάσις ἐστ[ί]. φάσις not 'phase', I take it, but 'appearance (out of combust invisibility, after conjunction)', as opposed to κρύψις in the next line, see on ii 48 ff. above.

5 κ[ρ]ύ]ψεως hardly open to doubt, I think. (-)λάμ]πει, (ἐκ)λεί]πει, ἐ]πί, etc.

μεσ[α]ί]ο: perhaps the scribe embarked on μεσαιατ- before catching himself. μεσοπορούσης, μεσοῦσης, etc.

6 εἰ]λι]κρω[ε]στάτην seems probable; cf. Gem. 11. 1 (τὴν κινάν), Cleom. 146. 19 Z., 194. 5 Z. (ἐκλείψεις).

7 πα[ρ]. could be πᾶν, -γίαν, (-)πα[ρ]θ]η (πά[ρ]λι]ν too long). The apex after κο suggests α, λ, μ, or ν. πά[ρ]θ]η . . . τὰ κολλ[ο]βά? Cf. LSJ in κολοβοδιέξοδος.

7 ff. ὁ μεῖς τριταῖος at line-end would give sense: 'When the month/moon appears τριταῖος', i.e. when the moon's first appearance of the month occurs two days after new moon (cf. e.g. R. H. Baker, *Astronomy*<sup>8</sup> (1964), 127: 'On the second evening after the new phase the thin crescent moon is likely to be seen in the West after sundown'), 'it appears (a.c. occurs) at its full in fourteen days (sc. after its first appearance), on the sixteenth (and wanes in 13 days).' Some problems of detail yield, but not all.

9 ἡμέρας. Whatever termination was written was altered, and that ἡμέρας was the intention cannot be verified. Cf. 11 below.

10f. Baffling. Noting that ὑπόμετρον is not a recorded word, Mr Lobel wondered whether it might be interpreted, by analogy with ἐπίμετρον and ὑπέρμετρος, as 'falling short of a limit'. Dr Rea suggests that ὑπό μέτρον might mean 'proportionately', 'at the same rate' ('under the control of due measure'). The residual τρ. is a problem; prima facie τόν; not ται (for τε). Could ὁ ὑπόμετρος or ὁ ὑπό μέτρον be a technical term for the shorter half (so to speak) of the month? (Cf. the mention of κολοβά πάθη at 7 above?) Another oddity is the Ionic ἡμέρησι (ἡμερησι a.c.) in 11, which remains unexplained and out of place even as a relic from Heraclitus.

11-19 ἀρξαμένη φαίνεσθαι τῆι 17 will refer to the onset of the full-moon phase; but τῆι 7, referring to the moon's first appearance of the new month, might be thought to give more consistent sense, repeating the (admittedly reconstructed) terms of the previous sentence. In 14, apparently οὐκ ἐφαίνετ' αὐτοῖς οὐπω (Lobel), 'it was not yet visible to them', though the reference of αὐτοῖς is obscure. Then ωπερ[ε] ]ν[ ] of itself suggests ἴν' ἐπε[ὶ] ν[ ]ν[ ] (ἴνα = ὥστε?), in which case we shall read γίνεταί in 18 (γίνεταί Lobel; the trace is minimal). At the beginning of 17, perhaps ἐξ[ ]χά]τ[ω]ς. 'Since(?) if it here(?) makes its appearance at the earliest, on new-moon-day (i.e., makes its earliest possible appearance, viz. on the 1st), it is full moon at the 14th, if it makes its

appearance at the latest, on the 3rd, it becomes full moon at the earliest at the 14th, in 14 days.' 15, '16', is acceptable in l. 18: cf. l. 8. This is apparently a statement of the correlation between the moon's new and full phases (by 'new' I here mean first crescent visibility, the *φάσις*) in terms of the month's day-count. It seems to be held that full moon, the *διχομηνία*, occurs (at least) 14 days after the moon's first appearance of the month, whether that appearance occurs on the first (*νομηνία*, the day of conjunction) or on the third. I first took *πρώτως φαινόμενη* to mean 'making its first appearance' (sc. of the month), but if *ἐσχάτως* is correctly recovered in 17, *φαινόμενη* itself bears this meaning (= *τὴν φάσιν ποιουμένη*), and *πρώτως* and *ἐσχάτως* signify respectively the earliest and latest possible such appearances (cf. Autol. 1. 8, τὸ ἔσχατον ἐσχάτως μὲν περικαταλαμβανέσθω ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ ἡλίου ἀγῶν τοῦ ἡλίου ὄντος πρὸς τῷ ζ', πρώτως δὲ ἐκφευγέτω τὰς τοῦ ἡλίου ἀγῶν τοῦ ἡλίου ὄντος πρὸς τῷ η', where the figures refer to an accompanying diagram). Cf. esp. Gem. 9. 14, τάχιστα μὲν γὰρ φαίνεται ἡ ἐελήνη μνηοειδῆς τῇ νομηνίᾳ, βραδυάτη δὲ τῇ γ' . . . πανέληνος δὲ γίνεται τάχιστα μὲν περὶ τὴν ιγ', βραδυάτη δὲ περὶ τὴν ιζ'.

18f. 'Full moon occurs in 14 days' (sc. from the moon's *φάσις*), cf. Autol. 1. 4, δύς τις γίνεται διὰ ἡμῶν ἐνιαυτοῦ.

Are these observations presented in reference to the action of the poem? (NB 14f.?) Some correlation with the *Odyssey's* day-count could be at issue, but I cannot fathom it. For the day-count of the *Odyssey* see P. Schub. 3 (for that of the *Iliad*, about which we know more, see K. Lachmann, *Betrachtung über Homers Ilias* 90-6). The action of bk. 20 takes place on day 39; if this is new moon, at the previous full moon Odysseus will still have been on his voyage from Calypso's island; this seems to lead nowhere. It is interesting, but again not obviously relevant to the present discussion, that one interpretation of the *νῆξ σκοτομήνιος* at 14. 457—the end of day 35 according to the day-count—was in terms of the occultation at the *interlunium* (*καθ' ἣν ἡ ἐελήνη ἀπесκόπεται τῇ πρὸς τὸν ἡλιον συνόδῳ* D-schol.): that is strictly incompatible with the identification of the day of the feast as (astronomical) *νομηνία* that is the basis of this whole disquisition.

19-23 'Crates here (after v. 159, αἰ δ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ δώματ' ἐπισταμένως πονέοντο) subjoins v. 276 (*κῆρυκες δ' ἀνὰ ἄστν θεῶν, -ῶι*) as far as v. 173 (*ἀγχίμολον δέ σφ' ἤλθε Μελάνθιος*). (The translation is Mr Lobel's.) This makes no sense as it stands, unless (i) the verses transmitted in our manuscripts as 276-8 in the commentator's text followed 172 and (ii) *ἔως* is exclusive. Otherwise, the note must be seriously garbled: a lacuna? We can hardly suppose a simple omission such as *ἔως* <'ἄλκος ὑπὸ κειρόν' (278) ἀντὶ τοῦ "ἔς δ' ἦλθον δρηστήρες" (160) ἔως> κτλ, i.e. substitution of 276-8 for 160-72, for to dispense with the entry of Eumaeus (162) would make nonsense of the subsequent text (185 *τρίτος*, 190ff., 238f.). Whatever the solution, the verses in question must surely be the three verses 276-8. Put them after 159, and a logical sequence is achieved: the heralds' proclamation precedes, and motivates, the preparation for the sacrifice. It is simplest, and I imagine right, to suppose that Crates wished to effect this transposition. (Modern critics too have felt uncomfortable about 276ff.: 'hoc loco incommodi' Nauck.) But it should be borne in mind that we have no guarantee that Crates, or even our commentator, knew the verses in their received location, and remaining unclear is the relevance of v. 173. Though it has no clear bearing on the matter it may be worth adding the observation that 172 (which in our manuscripts precedes the *ἀγχίμολον δέ σφ' ἤλθε* line) is identical with the line that introduces the self-contained passage 241-75 (which in our manuscripts precedes the *κῆρυκες δ' ἀνὰ ἄστν* line). The relocation is unlikely to have any authority beyond Crates' own critical sensibility, though its attraction is patent.

For some of the verses to which *ὑποτάσσειν* is applied in the *Iliad* scholia, mostly without specific attribution—only Zenodotus is ever named—Pergamene provenance has sometimes been suspected (see esp. Bolling); in the extant *Odyssey* scholia, so far as I am aware, the verb in this sense does not occur. 'Zenodotus' is often Z. of Mallos, I fancy.

The (forked?) paragraphus, which is misplaced (it should be one line higher), seems to be by a second hand. The faulty placement was no doubt induced by the ecthesis of 21. The copyist missed the next occasion for a paragraphus too, at 23.

In the quotation of v. 276 *θεῶν* has been altered to *θεῶι*, which has no support elsewhere and may be, as Mr Lobel took it to be, 'simply a *Verschlimmbesserung*'. But it may be a respectable ancient reading—Aristarchus?—and it could even be argued that it is the *θεῶν* of the paradosis that is the *Verschlimmbesserung*, designed to eliminate the hiatus; cf. *Il.* 1. 447, where *θεῶι ἱερὴν ἑκατόμβην*, the Aristarchean (and Zenodotean) reading, appears in the paradosis as *θεῶι κλειτὴν ἑκατόμβην*. (Cf. *Od.* 10. 553, where *Π<sup>31</sup>* offers *δώρων* for *ἰρών*; S. West, *Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer* 247.) Ludwig reports the *ν* of *θεῶν* as having been added by a second hand in U.

23-7 *μνηστήρες ἀγήνορες* is the paradosis only at *Od.* 1. 144. In the present passage *δρηστήρες ἀγήνορες* is





rightly recognized as such, form part of the comment on 246.  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  in 7 was taken by Mr Lobel as the beginning of a lemma of 247 ( $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  ἔφατ' Ἀμφινόμοσ), but it may be the continuation of the comment.

4-5 e.g. οὐτ' Ἀμφινόμου οὐ[τε τῶλ (i.e. τῶν) λοιπ[ῶν.

6 245 is quoted in the grammatical treatise P. Brit. Mus. 126 verso (Kenyon, *Class. Texts* x) i 33, but only for ἡμῖν, in illustration of a use of personal pronouns.

8f. No variant is recorded. ἀντ[ίκα?—cf. *Od.* 16. 406f. (16. 406 = 20. 247). In 8 Ἀριτοφάνης, cf. iii 33, would well fit the space if the lemma terminated at δῶματ', as it probably did; only this time the *v.l.* is not the vulgate reading. Otherwise, οὐ] | γράφει (of 248f.).

### 3711. *Lesbiaca* (COMMENTARY ON ALCAEUS?)

Plate X

31 4B.13/G(3-4)a

Fr. I 15.5 × 23.5 cm

Second century

Two fragments, the larger with remains of two columns, assembled from several pieces; written in an informal and somewhat irregular second-century hand. The precise nature of the text is not clear. It is a scholarly product, at first sight a regular commentary: a lemma from Alcaeus at fr. I ii 31-3, in ecthesis. But if the work as a whole was tied to the text of Alcaeus, the commentator was very selective in his choice of passages, and he concerns himself not at all with grammatical exegesis, paraphrase, or the like (cf. XXI 2307 intro.), but more with matters of early Lesbian history and saga. Most of col. i is taken up first with the Lesbian 'lion-law' and then with a narrative concerning Macar and a bronze lion made by Hephaestus, while most of col. ii appears to be occupied with various accounts of Dionysus Omestes. The work could be a collection of Lesbian *προβλήματα* or *προσηγορίαι* (re 'Macar's lion'; Dionysus 'Omestes'; ?Onomacles); but the items under discussion are not introduced in the question-form normal to such a genre, and the relation of the one identified lemma to the attached comment, on the early history of Aenus, is quite obscure.

We have little from antiquity on early Lesbos, and most of the information here is new. The papyrus' account of the lion-law, perhaps attributed to Hellanicus, complements a notice given by Diodorus in the relevant section of his island-book, or would do if I could recover it; but of the slice of evidently Lesbian saga that follows I find no trace anywhere. Here the lion is not a law but a bronze creature manufactured by Hephaestus and (less predictably) filled by him with beneficial drugs, and Macar took it from Pholoe (another unexplained detail) to Lesbos, where he hid it. This belongs to Lesbian foundation myth, no doubt. The authority cited is Alcaeus—apparently *not the* Alcaeus, however, but Ἀλκαῖος ὁ τῶν ἐπῶν [ποιητής?], who is not otherwise known. Further details of Macar's concealment of the lion are given, cited now, if the reconstruction is on the right lines, from Myrsilus of Methymna: we hear of Methymneans, of a Sibylline oracle, and, as the papyrus breaks off towards the end of the first column, of Ionians, in what precise connection is unclear, but it raises interesting ethnic questions.

Myrsilus of Methymna may be reported again in the second column for a curious aition of Dionysus' being called Omestes (as at Alc. 129. 9, though there is no indication that this was quoted). This too is new, and it is unfortunate that it cannot be fully reconstructed. Earlier in the same column we appear to have not only Omestes but Smintheus, in an account perhaps credited to Hellanicus.

This was in every sense a scholar's text. The margin bristles with chi and chi-rho sigla, as if someone has been marking it up in preparation for writing a work of his own. There are few clues to the date of compilation. The second century itself seems likely enough, but an earlier date is by no means ruled out. The author seems to have been content to compile. There is no way of telling for certain, but it is possible that he consulted the cited sources directly (Hellanicus' *Atlantis* was at Oxyrhynchus in the second century if VIII 1084 is correctly so attributed; but the attribution is questionable, L. Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians* 177).

In the upper margin above the centre of the first column stands a delta, perhaps by a second hand: a column number ('4', unless [ $\iota$ ] $\delta$  '14')? The manuscript's layout is unexceptional. Upper margin 1.5 cm, lower 2.0, but it is not certain that the edges are preserved. Column width *c.* 6 cm (less wide than commentaries' columns often are), column-height *c.* 19 cm. No punctuation (unless at 1 i 9), no paragraphi. The text is articulated by the occasional ecthesis: of the lemma at 1 ii 31-3, and of certain other lines which seemingly begin a new entry and/or name a cited authority (1 i 7?, 10?, ii 4, 17). Prevocalic  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  regularly elided, with apostrophe; no other lection aids in evidence, except trema at 1 ii 25. Iota adscript usually but not always placed. Back blank.

	]      [δ                      [	
	]. . . . . ηνει. [.]. π. λιμ. [	
	]ελθη. . [.]. . . η. . . . . [	
	]οκα. ηθεμιδος vac.	c. 5 ]ος καὶ τῆς Θέμιδος
	]εμικ. . . . . εστιπ. υ. αν. ιον	c. 4 θ]εμικ. . . . . ἔστι πρυτανείον
5	]μι. . . ηναιωνκα. μει. ι	c. 4 ] Μιτυληναίων Καδμειαί
	]. vac.	c. 5 ].
	]. . . . . ωρ. . . . . σοτ[	
	]. . . . . δε. . τ. [.]. . . . . τηω. [	
	] . [ρητερ. . . vac. [	
10	]. . . . . υ. . . []. [.]. . []. . . . . ρ. [	
	] λεσβι. . ων. ο. ο. . . ναιφη[	Λεσβιακῶν νόμον εἰναί φη[σι
	] θον. [.]. . . . . ειν. ου[	
	] τον. []. . . . . ον. . [ ]	
	] χαλκ. . . . . αι. . . . . ει. [ ]	καλεῖς-
15	]✕ θαι. ε. [.]. ο. . ατ. . νομογτουτο.	θαι δὲ λ[ε]οντα τὸν νόμον τοῦτον
	] οτ[. ]ζ. μιατωα. . ρτοντιθανα	ᾗτ[ι] ζημία τῷ ἁμαρτῶντι θάνα-
	] . . . . . λκαι. . . οτωνεπων	τος ἦν. Ἀλκαῖος δ' ὁ τῶν ἐπῶν
	]. [                      ]φηνοτιηφαιστολε	c. 7 ] φησιν ὅτι Ἡφαιστος λέ-
	] οντακατασκευασααχαλκουνει	οντα κατασκευάσας χαλκοῦν εἰς
20	]. οντοφαρμακα. θηκεβοηθουν	τοῦτον φάρμακα ἔθηκε βοηθοῦν-

Abrasion extremely severe in places, especially in the first 14 lines. *Marg. sup.* Room perhaps for a lost ι before δ, nothing broader. Ink below, apparently a horizontal line  
 1 Perhaps ], εἰς[τ]ηψ After εθ, upper left-hand corner as of γ or c, then abrasion, then perhaps υ before π After π, ο acceptable, α not excluded After μ, high speck, line-final? 2 Various assignable traces on worm-eaten and distorted papyrus After η, τρησι poss. 3 . . . , ιγ, ιτ acceptable 4 . . . , feet of two uprights suggesting π or τ, then scanty scattered traces on abraded surface, perhaps last c ε enlarged 5 At end, letter ligatured to ι, perhaps α, not ο 8 Before δ, θε? After ε, μο? 9 . [ , κ or η; if written broad no letter intervening before ρ; κρητες might be possible if what I have taken for foot of descender of ρ does not after all belong 10 Mostly abraded, but a few of the remains substantial enough to allow guesses to be tested; but some seem anomalous or confused: correction? Before ρ, two letter-top specks preceded by base of apparent upright; before that, minimal specks After ρ, traces suggesting left-hand side of circle 12 . [ , ι suggested Before ε, perhaps an anomalous μ; about 3 letters before that, π? After υ, specks consistent with τ υ[ , perhaps last letter of line 13 After υ, lower part of δ? Then variously assignable traces on abraded surface, perhaps μη 3-4 letters before ρν 17 Before λ, faint traces consistent with α Before ο, perhaps base of δ with apostrophe above; before that, οc acceptable

	. ατοιανθρω . [ . ] . ζμακα <sup>δ</sup> ραντον	τα τοῖς ἀνθρώπ[ο]ις· Μάκαρ δ' αὐτὸν
	. κτη . φολοησεκ . . . . . ζενε[ . ] ζλεσ	ἐκ τῆς Φολόης ἐκόμεσεν ε[ι]ς Λέσ-
	. ] . γκαιεκρυνψεν . . [ ] φςγαρεμ[ . ] λ	β]ον καὶ ἔκρυνψεν· οὔ[τ]ωσ γὰρ ἔμ[ε]λ-
	]. εσθαιτηγν[ . . ] . ν μυρ . ι	λε . ] . εσθαι τὴν ν[ῆ]σον· Μυρτί-
25	] κ . . . υφθ . . . . [ . . ] εοντα . .	λος δὲ] κεκρύφθαι τῶ[ν λ]έοντά φη-
	] . ροστοιμηθυ . . . . . ωνπε .	σι] πρὸς τοῖς Μηθυμναίων πε .
	] . δ' ενχρησμ . . . . βυλλησοτ[ ]	c. 4 ] δ' ἐν χρησμῶι Ζιβύλλησ ὄτ[ι]
	] ολεωνειηερ . . νηφαιστου	c. 5 ] ὁ λέων εἶη ἔργον Ἑφαιστου
	] . . . αμματαε . . φυλακηνητης	c. 5 ] ε γράμματα εἰς φυλακὴν τῆς
30	] . ψ . . . δετου . . . . ακαραα	νήσου, κ]ρύψαι δὲ τοῦτον Μάκαρα α-
	] . αρα . τουγενομενουιωνας	c. 6 ] γὰρ αὐτοῦ γενομένου Ἴωνα
	]. . . . τ . ν . ηνη . . .	c. 11 ] . . . τ . ν τὴν νῆσον
	] . λλ[ . . . ] της	c. 15 ] . λλ[ . . . ] της
	] α[	] α[

21 . [ . ] ε, π[ο]ιc acceptable; top-stroke of ε prolonged upright 23 . . [ . ], perhaps circle and foot of a flat stroke on the line, ο not suggested but ruled out 24 ] . , stroke rising to upper left of ε, υ or ψ suggested Between ρ and ι, apparent extremities of letter-top horizontal, and suggestion of stem at foot 25 ] κ . . . , abraded, remains consistent with κεκρ . . . . [ . ], abraded, first two consistent with αι At end, two diverging strokes starting from foot of α, lost in worm-path; to right, confused upper specks followed by a short upright with a long thin stroke proceeding from top into right margin, clubbed at end; φη a possible interpretation 26 ] . , trace coming in to top of ρ, broken below . . . . , remains consistent with μναι At end, speck immediately to right of top of ε, worm-path, traces of lowish apparent upright thick at foot; e.g. ν, or if two letters, a narrow letter followed by ι, ρι not suggested but not ruled out 27 ] . , apparent broken upright at edge, with suggestion of stroke joining from left at top . . . . , consistent with ωιc; above putative ω, a dot, presumably casual 28 . . . , heavy traces within confined area, γο acceptable 29 ] . . . , second and third, uprights of length suitable for γρ; if so, preceded by slightly rising stroke coming in to top of γ and more traces at left, ε suggested After ε, ιc consistent with remains and space 30 ] . , ο or ρ After ψ, remains on edges of hole, suitable for αι . . . . , consistent with τουμ 31 ] . , top of γ? Before τ, specks consistent with υ 32 ] . . . , scattered traces on abraded surface Between τ and ν, perhaps η, or ει? At end, cov acceptable 33 ] . , apparent upright curved to left at foot, of vowels ο best?

To judge from col. ii, which has column-foot, there are two complete lines lost from the foot of this column

	]	✱[		
		[]	θ[	
		✱>[]	λων[	
	χ	κ[	ητας τ[	K[ρ]ητας τ[
5	✱	[]	σια. .[	σια, α[
		[]	καλ. [	καλ. [
	[			(one line missing)
	[	]ου. [		ου. [
		]νιζ[		νιζ[
10		]στα[		στα[
		]θηρ. [		θηρι[
	]. [	]θεωςβουληει[		θέως βουλήι ε[
		καιωμηστηιδ. [		καὶ ὠμηστῆι δ. [
		καιτονο. ιμβε. [		καὶ τὸν ζμινθέα [
15		επα. ελει[. .]. ποιο. . [		ἐπ' ἀτελεί[α]ι ποιο. . [
	✱	λανει. . . [ . . ] τ. . . [		λανεικ. . . [ . . ] τ. . . [
	χ	μυ. [ . . ]. ρ. [ . . ]. ες. ι. ακαρ. [		Μυρ[τί]λο. [ . . ]. ἐπὶ Μάκκ
	✱	[ . . ]. ηστην. ρ. . ομα. [		ὠμηστην . ρ. . ομα[
		[ ]λευκαιθυεινοανλη[		λεύσαι θύειν ὄ ἄν λη[
20	[	]τονεκτωνπολε[ . . . ] . . [		τον ἐκ τῶν πολε[ . . . ] . . [

To judge from col. i, which has column top, 2 θ[ will have been the third line of the column. The letters of lines 2-6, except for κ in ecthesis in 4, are on an isolated scrap, its location guaranteed by the match of the fibres, separated from the body of the fragment to the left by an apparent worm-path; whether any letter is lost between κ and η in 4 is doubtful, but there may be room for a narrow letter such as ρ 4 ε. [ upper stroke of c prolonged (i.e. word-final), a new letter-top horizontal apparently commenced 5 ι, or τ? . . [ top stroke of γ or c, loop suggesting α 6 [ medial trace 11 [ lowish foot of apparent upright 12 η in correction 13 [ medial speck 14 ο after τ diminutive but undoubtedly ρ large, θ not excluded .ι, a ligatured sequence, partly lost in hole at left, perhaps μ [ a or ο 15 Halfway between α and ε, suggestion of upright ], clubbed upright . . [ two traces on the line 16 . . . [ perhaps κ, then letter-top traces After τ, εο suggested, then upright bent to right at top 17 After υ, suggestion of circlet Before ε, anomalous traces, hardly δ Before ι, perhaps slightly anomalous lower parts of π Between ι and α, one or two letters, μ acceptable After ρ, rather high loop, ο? 18 At beginning, vertically beneath 17 μ, a speck, but no clear indication that this line was in ecthesis ], defective μ? Between ρ and ρ, speck at left and suggestion of horizontal joining top of ρ, both traces possibly to be associated with υ, in which case no letter intervenes . . . , speck at upper left, upright at right [ letter-top trace, hardly ι or ο, perhaps α 20 ]. [ speck on the line, loop on the line

	τους ουνει. η. . . . [ . . . ] . εκ. [	τους ουνει. η. . . . [ . . . ] . εκ. [
	φθεντασα. [ . . ] ειν. . . . ι [ . . ] καλο. [	φθέντασα. [ . . ] ειν. . . . ι [ . . ] καλο
	εκτου. αιλικο. . ενο [ . . ] ον. ωι [	ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους ον τῶι
25	* διονυζωιθυσαιτο. . . . [	Διονύζωι θύσαι τὸν ὠμηξ-
	τηνε. . τ. μίερωιζν. ηι. . . . ε [	τὴν ἐπὶ τῆι ἱερῶι {ι}ζύνηι τοῦ θε-
	* ουεγτευθενουνω. . . . ην [	οῦ. ἐντεῦθεν οὖν ὠμηξτὴν
	. εκλησθαιδιονυσον [ . . ] . δεπολ [	κεκλήσθαι Διόνυσον. [ο]ί δέ πολ-
	* λοιδια. . σμαιναδασαιωμ. . ι [	λοὶ διὰ τὰς μαινάδας, αἱ ἄμὰ δι-
	* ασπωσιτω [ . ] θηριωγταιεις. [	ασπῶσι τῶ [ν] θηρίων τὰ εἰς χ[εῖ-
30	ρασαυτωνεληθ [ . . ] [ ] [	ρας αὐτῶν ἐληθ[ό]ντα.
	ως. ουυμακλεησωθ. γ. ος [	ὡς δ' Ὀνυμακλέης ωθ. γ. ος
	ξ φοικης. . υκαιχμιαιςφευγωντ [	εὐοίκης λαυκαυχμίας φεύγων τ[ὸν
	π [ . . ] εμον αινοσθρ [ . . ] κησπολις. [	π[όλ]εμον. Αἶνος Θρ[ά]ικης πόλις. [
	αιγο. το. . ερωι. [ ] . . . . . [	Αἶνον τοῦ Γερῶι. . . . . [
35	δετη. αινογα. . πξκο. [	δὲ τῆν Αἶνον Ἄλωπεκον [νήσιοι,
	η [ . . ] . [ ] ονγτοδ' υποθ. αικω [ . . ] ηε [	η [ . . ] . ούντο δ' ὑπὸ Θρῆικῶ [ν . ] ηε [

- 21 After ι, abraded traces on edge of hole After η, which is represented by strokes that could be otherwise assigned, thick medial trace, followed after a break (the papyrus is warped out of position) by apparent upright, indeterminate specks, and more considerable remains, perhaps ligature and left side of ε or θ
- 22 After σα, perhaps ι followed by sloping upright on edge of hole After ν, variously assignable traces on mostly stripped surface, letter-count uncertain, fourth perhaps α [ , upright followed by medial trace, ν anomalous but acceptable?, probably line-end 23 . . . , foot of possible upright, hole, speck on the line and horizontal joining top of ε (γ, ε, τ?) ] . . , perhaps ε with speck of previous letter at upper left, uncertain whether further loss before ρ 24 ε of presumed θύσαι looks more like γ After το, damaged remains consistent with νωμηξ 25 After ε, traces at lower left, damage, square corner at upper right, perhaps ligature-stroke and top of ι After τ, ω corr. to η? After ηι, το perhaps suggested, then scattered traces 26 . . . , lower parts of letters, μηστ suitable 28 δαε, top stroke of ε prolonged Before final ι, perhaps αδ, ligatured 29 . [ , beginning of letter-top stroke 30 ] . . [ , traces on twisted and loose fibres, ντα acceptable 31 θ narrow, unwanted ink in lower half Before ν, stroke emerging from hole to join at upper left, angle suiting α rather than ε Between ν and ο, damage, upper traces admitting α, ε or δ 32 Between ε and ν surface mostly destroyed; putative λ has unwanted ink at base, but anomalous as α 33 . [ , top of thick apparent upright 34 Between ρ and τ, hole and upper right of ε, ν? . . . , foot of apparent upright, followed by τ or (better?) γ with horizontal joining at upper left After ι, loop suggesting α After lacuna, medial speck, then perhaps ο, then variously decipherable traces: possible upright bent to right at foot, then perhaps ω, followed by top of thick tall upright ligatured at left 36 [ . . ] , or [ . ] [ . ] , top of upright

fr. 1 i. '... and of Themis. . . . prytaneum (. . .) of the Mytilencans Cadmean . . . .  
'... the Cretans(?)).

'According to Hellanicus(?), *Lesbiaca*, bk. x (1?, 2?), there was a law . . . bronze . . . and this law was called "lion" because death was the penalty for the wrong-doer. According to Alcaeus the [ ? ] of the epics, Hephaestus made a bronze lion and into this put drugs beneficial to mankind; and Macar took it from Pholoe to Lesbos and hid it, for in this way he was to safeguard(?) the island. But according to Myrtilus(?) the lion had been hidden hard by the border(?) of the Methymnians, and . . . in a Sibylline oracle that this lion was Hephaestus' work (and had?) writing for the guarding of the island, but Macar hid it, for once it had (disappeared?) the Ionians . . . the island . . .'

1 Though the damage is formidable, εἶς [τ]ῆς εἰ. [.] ὄλιον might be worth trying; but Εἶς[α]ν (cf. Alc. 69. 3-4 ἴρ[ω]ν ἐς πόλιν ἔλθην) is not commended, and Ἐρεσον excluded.

3-6 The estimate of letters lost is based on the assumption that none of the lines was in ecthesis, which may not be true of l. 4.

3 καὶ τῆς or Γῆς Θέμιδος. Δι]ός preceding? A cultic reference? Since the rest of the line is left blank, one would imagine that this is the end of the note, but we seem to have Θ]έμις (unless θ]έμιςτι-) again in the next line. Cf. col. ii, where we have ἀμνηστῆς both fore and aft of the ecthesis of l. 17.

4-5 A Mytilenean prytaneum existed already in the time of Sappho (Sapph. 203, 99 L-P = Alc. 303A Voigt 17). But what 'Cadmean' (fem. nom. pl. or dat. sing.) has to do with it, if that is rightly read, I do not know. ?Potentially relevant data: (1) according to Myrsilus of Methymna the Hyades were daughters of Cadmus (*FGrHist* 477 F 15); (2) Phantias of Eresus wrote *πρυτάνεις Ἐρεσίων*, in the wake of Aristotle's *Constitutions* (which no doubt included Mytilene).

τῶν) would fit as the beginning of 5, but no article at 26, 31, ii 35, fr. 2. 6.

7-8 Both these lines appear to have been in ecthesis, though there is very little to go on. More probably, I should think, l. 8 was in normal alignment, with e.g. a *chi-rho* sign in the margin.

9 Κρηῆτες followed by a middle stop may be a possible reading, in which case cf. ii 4. Preceded perhaps by φς at the end of 8?

10-17 The lion-law. The starting-point for reconstruction is 14-17, *καλεῖσθαι δὲ λ[έ]οντα κτλ*, whose recovery is enabled by a similar notice given at the end of Diodorus' scrappy and disjointed account of the early history of Lesbos, 5. 82. 4: *αὐτὸς δ' ὁ Μακαρεὺς ἐν τῇ Λέσβῳ βασιλεύων (πρῶτον μὲν) νόμον ἔγραψε πολλὰ τῶν κοινῇ συμφερόντων περιέχοντα, ὠνόμασε δ' αὐτὸν λέοντα, ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ ζώου δυνάμεως καὶ ἀλκῆς θέμενος τὴν προσηγορίαν*. Diodorus' source for his account of Lesbos is undetermined (Bethel argued for Apollodorus for the whole island-book, *Hermes* 24 (1889) 402-46); but in any case the lion-law notice is an isolated item appended at the end and may not be integral to the rest of the account. (I am not sure that there is sufficient warrant for deleting *πρῶτον μὲν*: the extract may have been broken off.)

If I have rightly made out *Λεσβιακῶν* rather than some other *Λεσβ-* cognate at the beginning of 11, a literary work is indicated: *Λεσβιακά*, unless *λόγοι Λεσβιακοί* *vel sim*. Genitive, therefore accompanied by book number. In l. 10, then, we look for identification of the author, followed by the book reference. The two main candidates for author must be Hellanicus, *FGrHist* 4, and Myrsilus of Methymna, *FGrHist* 477. Each wrote *Lesbiaca* in at least two books (Hellan. F 33-5, cf. F 32, F 158-60; Myrs. F 1, F 2-3, cf. F 5-17). *Prima facie* likeliest is Myrsilus, because (i) he is apparently cited (as *Μυρτίλος*) at 24 below, without further reference, and (ii) his *Lesbiaca* seems to have become the main source of Lesbian material for later antiquity, driving out earlier authorities. I cannot quite exclude the possibility that *Μυρτίλος* was written somewhere in l. 10 (*Μυρρεῖλος ἐν α' vel sim*. at line-end would be possible, but not *Μυρτ[-]*), but it was not written as the first word. Hellanicus on the other hand yields an acceptable fit with the initial remains: *Ἐλλάγξι[ε]κρ[ε]*. That cannot be regarded as assured, but I find no other suitable reading. The same spelling at ii 16, if the name is to be recognized there. Given that, what followed? Perhaps *ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ [τῶν]*, or perhaps *ε. 5 ἐν πρώ[τῳ]*; I can exclude neither; on non-papyrological grounds I should prefer the latter (I assume, *pace* Jacoby, that *περὶ Αἰολικῶν* in F 32 refers to the *Λεσβιακά*, and that a discrete work entitled *Αἰολικά* is not to be posited). *τρίτῳ* and *τετάρτῳ* are both excluded by the trace after ρ, which well suits ω. Of course, the numeral may not have been written out in full. Immediately following *κρ[ε]* is a puzzling complex of strokes which could be interpreted as ε attended by several redundant strokes above and below; a supralinearly added δ or δ' is conceivable, but does not fully account for the traces.

11 νόμον εἶνα: a guess, not palaeographically assured but suiting the traces. νόμον clear in 15.

12-14. At the beginning of 12 *θανα[τ]*, cf. 16, would be a forced reading but is perhaps not ruled out. With

14 χαλκ- cf. 18–20 below, Hephaestus' bronze lion; was the law inscribed on a bronze stele? 12–13 perhaps τοῦτον δ(έ), and in 14 preceding καλεῖσθαι an infinitive in -αι (-θαι not excluded, nor εἶναι, nor perhaps -ῆναι, but -εῖναι suggested); that may give the structure, but I cannot recover the whole. I find no mention of Macar, unless Μάκαρα is to be read after 13 τον δ[έ].

14–17 See on 10–17 above.

16–17 'Death was the penalty': here it is evidently the law's ruthlessness that is adduced as motivating the 'lion' appellation. I suppose we are to understand that all offences were capital, Macar having no truck with any lesser penalties; this makes him a super-Draco (Plu. *vit. Sol.* 17, with similar phrasing).

17–18 Ἀλκαῖος δ' ὁ τῶν ἐπῶν | [ c. 7 ] φησιν κτλ. Ἀλκαῖος in little doubt, I think. Cf. fr. 2. 12, and the quotation at fr. 1 ii 31–3 below. But an Alcaeus designated ὁ τῶν ἐπῶν [ - ] (δέ cannot be read for δ' ὁ) should be someone other than the lyric poet. Not that there would be difficulty about attributing this Lesbian saga to the famous Alcaeus; it could be a narrative from a hymn (though the story apparently recounted in the postulated hymn to Hephaestus has no evident connection with the story in the papyrus) or even from a 'stasiotic' poem incorporating early Lesbian 'history' (cf. the Ajax and Cassandra narrative in Alc. 298 Voigt). It is ὁ τῶν ἐπῶν [ - ] that stands in the way of what would otherwise be an unquestioned attribution. If this does indicate some other Alcaeus, as I think it must, only recovery of the word lost at the beginning of 18—presumably a participle or noun to govern τῶν ἐπῶν—would reveal whether he wrote hexameter verse (ἔπη) or prose. The best guess may be simply [ποιητής]; that would suit the space. Why not ἐποποιός, and why the article with ἐπῶν? Cf. Pausanias' references to Asius ὁ τὰ ἔπη ποιήσας (2. 29. 4) and Anyte τὴν ποιήσασαν τὰ ἔπη (10. 38. 13), or *IG XII* 2. 519. 4–5 NN τὸν τῶν μελῶν ποιητήν. I can make no plausible identification with any known Alcaeus. A recondite source, recounting Lesbian saga: like Hellanicus and Myrsilus, he may be Lesbian himself; not that it is a particularly Lesbian name (and I certainly see no reason to revive belief in the epigrammatist 'Alcaeus of Mytilene' as distinct from A. of Messene, cf. Gow–Page, *Hell. Epigr.* ii 7). An epic poet quoted in such a context as this stands to be early. Our author's knowledge of him may depend upon Myrsilus. Cf. the case of Chersias of Orchomenus (Paus. 9. 38. 9f., cf. 29. 1; Kinkel, *EGF*, pp. 207, 208; discussed by Wilamowitz, *Hom. Unters.* 338f.).

It is not quite clear how much of the subsequent narrative is attributed to Alcaeus; down to 24, if *Μυρτί[λο]ς κτλ* is rightly restored and interpreted there.

18–19 λέοντα. On first reading I assumed λέβητα, but βη is not so good a reading as ον, and λέοντα is confirmed by the further apparent occurrences of 'lion' above and below (15, 25, 28; none of them individually assured, however).

This bronze lion is new. Hephaestus makes an obviously appropriate manufacturer of such a product; his putting into it drugs beneficial to mankind is a less characteristic action: an assimilation to attributes of Prometheus? A further or alternative detail (γράμματα) at 29 below. Cf. Medea's making an εἶδωλον of Artemis and secreting φάρμακα in it, *DS* 4. 51. 1 (Dionys. Scyt. fr. 36 Rusten). Is a lion stuffed with beneficial drugs the mythological counterpart of a lion-law πολλά τῶν κοινῆ συμφερόντων περιέχοντα (*DS* loc. cit. on 10–17 above)? A further point in common between this lion of Hephaestus and the lion-law is 'bronze', 14 above. I take it they are both hypostases of 'Macar's lion'; the lion-law a rationalization of the myth?

A lion-head is frequently portrayed on early Lesbian coins, esp. from Mytilene (Fr. Bodenstein, *Die Elektronmünzen von Phokäa und Mytilene*, passim, esp. p. 60 with pls. 12 ff.; Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup> 558f., 561). Is the myth responsible for the coins, or the coins for the myth? (Numismatic authorities account for the lion-coins without reference to the lion-law, cf. e.g. Bodenstein, 'Das Löwenbild', *Istanbuler Mitt.* 27/8, 1977–8.) Note esp. Arist. fr. 593 Rose, linking the axe-law and the axe-coins of Tenedos, cf. fr. 568 Rose. The Lesbian lion is not otherwise heard of except for an isolated testimony that it was slain by Heracles, Schol. Theoc. 13. 6 (connected with Dionysus at Bresa by Wilamowitz, *Eurip. Her.*<sup>2</sup>, 44f. n. 73).

The local importance of the Lion is not matched by that of Hephaestus. Apart from the postulated hymn to Hephaestus by Alcaeus, which seems to have used non-local myth (H. Eisenberger, *Der Mythos in der äolischen Lyrik*, Diss. Frankfurt am Main 1956, 27–33, Page *S&A* 258–61), I find nothing of greater import than Hephaestios as a Lesbian month-name. See M. Delcourt, *Hephaistos* 188, H.–G. Buchholz, *Methymna* 212f. Evidently the lion came first, bringing Hephaestus in train.

21 ff. How the lion—or Macar, for that matter, unless he simply went for the lion—came to be in Pholoe is not explained. Pholoe is Centaur-land, and has no other claim to fame, nor any association that I know of with Hephaestus. We hear of Macar on the Greek mainland only prior to his settlement of Lesbos: he set out from Achaean Olenus (*DS* 5. 81. 4, see further on 30 ff. below); and it is a short step from Pholoe to Olenus, whether



col. ii

	] ✱[		
	□ θ[		θ[
	✱ □ λων[		λων[
	✱ κ[ητας. [		K[ρ]ητας τ[
5	χ □ ςια. . [		ςια. α[
	✱ □ καλ. [		καλ. [
	[		(one line missing)
	[ ]ου. [		ου. [
	[ ]νιζ[		νιζ[
10	[ ]ςτα[		ςτα[
	[ ]θηρ. [		θηρι[
	. [ ]θεωσβουληε[		θέως βουλήι ε[
	καιωμηστηιδ. [		καὶ ὠμηστήι δ. [
	καιτονο. ινθε. [		καὶ τὸν ζμινθέα [
15	επα. ελει[. . .] ποιο. . [		ἐπ' ἀτελεί[α]ι ποιο. . [
	✱ λανει. . . [ . . ] τ. . . [		λανεικ. . . [ . . ] τ. . . [
	χ μν. [ . . ] ρ. [ . . ] εε. ι. ακαρ. [		Μυρ[τί]λο. [ . . ] ε ἐπὶ Μάκαρο[ς
	✱ [ . . ] ηστην. ρ. . ομα[		ὠ]μηστήν . ρ. . ομα[
	[ ]λευκαιθυεινοανλη[		λεῦσαι θύειν ὃ ἄν λη[
20	[ ]τονεκτηωνπολε[ . . . ] . . [		τον ἐκ τῶν πολε[ . . . ] . . [

To judge from col. i, which has column top, 2 θ[ will have been the third line of the column. The letters of lines 2-6, except for κ in ecthesis in 4, are on an isolated scrap, its location guaranteed by the match of the fibres, separated from the body of the fragment to the left by an apparent worm-path; whether any letter is lost between κ and η in 4 is doubtful, but there may be room for a narrow letter such as ρ 4 ε. [, upper stroke of ς prolonged (i.e. word-final), a new letter-top horizontal apparently commenced 5 ι, or τ? . . [, top stroke of γ or ς, loop suggesting α 6 . [, medial trace 11 . [, lowish foot of apparent upright 12 η in correction 13 . [, medial speck 14 ο after τ diminutive but undoubted ρ large, θ not excluded . ι, a ligatured sequence, partly lost in hole at left, perhaps μ . [, α or ο 15 Halfway between α and ε, suggestion of upright . . [, clubbed upright . . [, two traces on the line 16 . . . [, perhaps κ, then letter-top traces After τ, εο suggested, then upright bent to right at top 17 After ν, suggestion of circlet Before ε, anomalous traces, hardly δ Before ι, perhaps slightly anomalous lower parts of π Between ι and α, one or two letters, μ acceptable After ρ, rather high loop, ο? 18 At beginning, vertically beneath 17 μ, a speck, but no clear indication that this line was in ecthesis . . [, defective μ? Between ν and ρ, speck at left and suggestion of horizontal joining top of ρ, both traces possibly to be associated with ν, in which case no letter intervenes . . . [, speck at upper left, upright at right . . [, letter-top trace, hardly ι or ο, perhaps α 20 . . [, speck on the line, loop on the line

	του ουγει, η . . . [ . . ] . εκ . [	τους ουνει, η . . . [ . . ] . εκ . [
	φθενταςα . [ . ] ειν . . . . . ι [ . . ] καλο, [	φθένταςα . [ . ] ειν . . . . . ι [ . . ] καλο
	εκτου, ακιλικο, . ενο [ . . ον, ωι [	ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους ον τῶι
25	✧ διονυζωιθυσαιτο . . . . . [	Διονύσει θύσαι τὸν ὠμης-
	τηνε, . τ, ῑερωιςν, ηι . . . . . ε[	τὴν ἐπὶ τῆι ἱερω{ι} ζύνηι τοῦ θε-
	✧ ουεντευθενουνω, . . . ην [	οῦ. ἐντεῦθεν οὖν ὠμηστὴν
	. εκλησθαιδιονυσον [ . ] . δεπολ [	κεκλήσθαι Διόνυσον. [ο]ἱ δὲ πολ-
	✧ λοιδια, . , μαιναδασαιωμ, . . ι [	λοὶ διὰ τὰς μαινάδας, αἱ ὠμὰ δι-
30	ασπρωσιτω [ . ] θηριωγταις, [	ασπῶσι τῶ[ν] θηρίων τὰ εἰς χ[εῖ-
	ρασαυτωνελθ [ . ] . . . [ ] [	ρας αὐτῶν ἐλθ[ό]ντα.
	ως, ουυμακλεησωθ, γ, ος[	ὡς δ' Ὀνυμακλέης ωθ, γ, ος
	ζ ερικης, . υκαιχιμαιςφενγωντ[	εὐίκησα λυκαιχιμαίαις φεύγων τ[ὸν
	π[ . . ] εμογ αινοσθρ [ . ] , κησπολις, [	π[όλ]εμον. Αἶνος Θρ[ά]ικης πόλις, [
	αιγο, το, . ερωι, [ ] . . . . . [	Αἶνον τοῦ Γερωι, . . . . . [
35	δετη, αινογα, . πεκο, [	δὲ τὴν Αἶνον Ἀλωπεκον[νήσιοι,
	η[ . . ] . [ ] ονητοδ' υποθ, αικω [ . . ] ηε[	η[ . . ] . οὔντο δ' ὑπὸ Θραικῶ[ν] . ] ηε[

21 After ι, abraded traces on edge of hole After η, which is represented by strokes that could be otherwise assigned, thick medial trace, followed after a break (the papyrus is warped out of position) by apparent upright, indeterminate specks, and more considerable remains, perhaps ligature and left side of ε or θ

22 After ζα, perhaps ι followed by sloping upright on edge of hole After ν, variously assignable traces on mostly stripped surface, letter-count uncertain, fourth perhaps α [ , upright followed by medial trace, ν anomalous but acceptable?, probably line-end

23 . . , foot of possible upright, hole, speck on the line and horizontal joining top of ε (γ, σ, τ?) [ . . , perhaps σ with speck of previous letter at upper left, uncertain whether further loss before ρ

24 ζ of presumed θύσαι looks more like γ After το, damaged remains consistent with νωμησ

25 After ε, traces at lower left, damage, square corner at upper right, perhaps ligature-stroke and top of ι After τ, ω corr. to η? After ηι, το perhaps suggested, then scattered traces

26 . . . . , lower parts of letters, μηστ suitable

28 δα, top stroke of σ prolonged Before final ι, perhaps αδ, ligatured

29 . [ , beginning of letter-top stroke

30 ] . . [ , traces on twisted and loose fibres, ντα acceptable

31 θ narrow, unwanted ink in lower half Before ν, stroke emerging from hole to join at upper left, angle suiting α rather than ε

Between γ and ο, damage, upper traces admitting α, ε, ι

32 Between σ and ν surface mostly destroyed; putative λ has unwanted ink at base, but anomalous as α or δ

33 . [ , top of thick apparent upright

34 Between ρ and τ, hole and upper right of σ, ν? . . , foot of apparent upright, followed by τ or (better?) γ with horizontal joining at upper left After ι, loop suggesting α

After lacuna, medial speck, then perhaps ο, then variously decipherable traces: possible upright bent to right at foot, then perhaps ω, followed by top of thick tall upright ligatured at left

36 [ . . ] , or [ . ] [ . ] , top of upright

one goes directly over Mt. Erymanthus and down the Pirus or west through Elis (on the location of Mt. Pholoe see Frazer on Paus. 8. 24. 4, Philippson-Kirsten, *Die gr. Landschaften* 3, 332f., 336f.). (?Olenus-Pholoe connection: Dexamenus k. of Olenus sometimes represented as a centaur.) I should guess Macar had the lion with him when he first went to Lesbos, i.e. that this is part of the foundation-myth.

There are points of comparability with the story of Pandareos' filching of Zeus' golden dog (which according to Schol. *Od.* 19. 518 was 'Ἡφαιστότευκτον), but there the concealment is motivated by the theft, whereas here there is no suggestion that the lion was stolen. (According to Rhodian tradition Macar was a Heliad, and according to AR 3. 233-5 Hephaestus owed a debt of gratitude to Helios; but obviously we cannot press this.) Other island concealments are those of the sickle on Drepane-Scheria-Corcyra (Schol. AR 4. 982-92g Wendel) and Zancle (Call. fr. 43. 69f. Pf.), the latter a foundation-legend; but these are name-aitia.

23-4 If the restoration is on the right lines, options for the infinitive are limited. The letter before εϑαι is probably ψ or υ (ζ less good, and cώ)ζεϑαι too long). If φ, a future, but what? If υ, λ]ύεϑαι or (better?) β]ύεϑαι? Cf. 30ff.

24 μυρτι: Myrtilus is as good as certain. But which? (1) The tyrant Myrsilus, best known from Alcacus, may be excluded: he has no possible place in a story about Macar and the lion. (2) Not to be dismissed out of hand is the Myrtilus of the Ocnomaus and Pelops story: according to a rather obscure tradition Ocnomaus was king of Lesbos (Schol. E. *Or.* 990, cf. Schol. mythogr. in *Il.* 1. 38 [*FGrHist* 115 F 350] + P. Hamb. III 199 i 1-26, citing Myrtilus [of Methymna] as source). But far more compelling, if φη] is right at 25-6, is (3) Myrsilus of Methymna: not a character in the story but another source. See on 10-17 above, and cf. ii 17. The non-Aeolic spelling, Μυρτ- not Μυρς-, is normal (Jacoby, *FGrHist* 477, comm. n. 1).

26f. How to restore? πρὸς τοῖς Μηθυμναίων seems reasonably assured (I have tried ]. ροστοις as a dat. of agent with κεκρύφθαι, without success). δ' in the next line presumably indicates a new clause. πε. ] could be the beginning of a word in agreement with τοῖς, but the space constraints are severe; e.g. περι]βόλοισις is quite out of the question. We could punctuate after Μηθυμναίων: then what does πρὸς τοῖς Μηθυμναίων mean? Hardly 'in addition to Meth. interests', conceivably 'on the Meth. border' (τὰ Μηθυμναίων 'Meth. territory'). And πε-? A possibility may be περι]εῖναι], in parallel with κεκρύφθαι, 'and it was extant (περιεῖναι representing περιῖν, note εῖν) in a Sibylline oracle . . .'. Far from compelling, but I can suggest nothing better that satisfies the data.

(Mr J. R. M. Fettes, the Press reader, suggests for πρὸς τοῖς Μηθ. the meaning 'along with the (other) things (i.e. civic treasures) of the Methymneans'. For the continuation περι]ηνέχθ]η or περι]ηνέχθ]αι, also suggestions due to Mr Fettes, seems too long, and πεφάνθαι is excluded.)

'Methymneans'. According to Diodorus' account (5. 81. 7) Methymna and Mytilene took their respective names from two of Macar's daughters; that is barely compatible with 'Methymneans' here, unless Myrtilus is talking of a later period. Methymna already at loggerheads with Mytilene? If the source is Myrtilus this will be the Methymnean version.

28 οὗτος] ὁ λέων?

29 ἔχοι δ]έ? The letter before γράμματα is certainly not ι, therefore not καὶ ἔχοι]ι or ἔχον ἐπ]ιγράμματα. γράμματα, itself in little doubt, comports strangely with the description given at 19-21 above: φάρμακα and γράμματα both?—they must be variants. A lion with γράμματα comes closer to the concept of the lion as a law. But why should Macar have hidden it? See 30ff.

30ff. α|[ ε. 6 ] χάρ αὐτοῦ γενομένου gen. absol.? ἀ[φανοῦς]?

Before τὴν νῆσον, αὐτὴν (not ταύτην) may be a possible reading, but -τεω I think is better: an infinitive. The remains are substantial enough to allow guesses to be tested, but I can come up with nothing that the traces readily accommodate. (The letter before τ is not ε, η, κ, ν, π, or τ; α, ι, ο, ρ, ε, υ, ω not ruled out but none seems eminently satisfactory.) E.g. λαβεῖν ἂν ἀδ]ιγγοτρεῖν is an unverifiable possibility.

Macar and Ionians. (1) Chronology. Macar was already installed on Lesbos by the time of the Trojan War; *Il.* 24. 544 ὄσον Λέεβος ἄνω, Μάκαρος ἔδος (μακάρων Π<sup>14</sup> and a few later witnesses, πόλις for ἔδος Strabo), i.e. he precedes the Aeolian migration under the descendants of Orestes, in the case of Lesbos the Penthelids (Page, *S&A* 149 n. 1 gives refs., cf. Bérard, *Rev. Arch.* 1959, 1-28), and precedes likewise the Ionian migration under the sons of Codrus.

(2) Ethnicity. (a) Macar. Macar's Aeolian status is attested by *HH Ap.* 37, Λέεβος τ' ἡγαθέη, Μάκαρος ἔδος Αἰολίωτος. In conformity with this, Macar is son of Aeolus (Paus. 10. 38. 4, which Aeolus not stated). But another early tradition has him (or Macareus) son of Crinacus son of Zeus (DS 5. 81. 4 = Hes. fr. 184 MW, ὣς φηεν 'Ἰεῖδος καὶ ἄλλοι τινές τῶν ποιητῶν, cf. Schol. AT *Il.* 24. 544c Erbse, DH 1. 18. 1). And in Rhodian saga he is one of the seven Heliads, and fled from Rhodes to Lesbos after the murder of his brother Tenages (DS 5.

56–7, cf. Schol. Pi. *Ol.* 7. 132 = *FGrHist* 4 [Hellanicus] F137,<sup>1</sup> Schol. bT *Il.* 24. 544c Erbse). Non-Rhodian tradition has it that he came to Lesbos from Olenus in Achaea, one of the old twelve Achaean—i.e. Ionian—cities (Hdt. 1. 145, Paus. 7. 6. 1, Plb. 2. 41. 7): κατοικῶν δ' ἐν Ὀλένῳ τῆς τότε μὲν Ἰάδος νῦν δ' Ἀχαιῶν καλουμένης, DS 5. 81. 4. In this connection perhaps note too the strange καὶ Ἰωνος (τοῦ Ἰωνος Bethe, del. plurimi) after Μακαρέως, *ibid.* 82. 3. The settlers he led, as with the later migrations (cf. esp. Schol. Lyc. 1374 on the Aeolian to Lesbos, quoted by Jacoby on *FGrHist* 4 F32 and presumably from Hellanicus), were ethnically mixed: εἶχε δὲ λαοὺς ἠθροικμένους, τοὺς μὲν Ἰωνας τοὺς δ' ἐξ ἄλλων ἐθνῶν παντοδαπῶν συνερρηκόμενους (hidden etymology of 'Aeolian').

(b) Other settlers. (i) Pelasgian: antediluvian, irrelevant. (ii) Lesbos s. of Lapithes s. of Aeolus s. of Hippotes, DS 5. 81. 6, cf. Steph. Byz. *Αἰμονία*: an eponymous settlement, harmonized with Macar's (L. married M.'s daughter Methymna; differently Schol. bT *Il.* 24. 544c Erbse). (iii) Orestes and Penthelids, the 'Aeolian' migration (see (1) above).

This leaves the ethnic status of Macar somewhat equivocal, and invites caution in trying to fix the reference of 'the Ionians' here, beyond assuming contradistinction with Aeolians. Still, there is no hint anywhere of ethnic conflict within the island—Lesbos was Aeolian εἶτε ἄλλη, however one might account for it—and the obvious guess is probably right: Macar's lion protects the island from the external threat of the Ionians; so long as the lion is kept hidden (sc. safe, not sc. inoperative!), the island's Aeolian existence is guaranteed (and Lesbos will not suffer the fate of Smyrna: Hdt. 1. 150, cf. Aristid. 15. 373; or Chalcis, Plu. *Qu. Gr.* 22). For this talismanic function of the lion cf. esp. Meles' protection of Sardis, Hdt. 1. 84. 3, that too accompanied by a non-Delphic oracle. Against such an interpretation may be accounted the fact that one would not expect to hear of an oracle of such import unless the island did become Ionian; and the special relevance of Methymna, if any, remains unclear (unless Macar by unwittingly concealing the lion in the territory of Methymna thereby ensured that city's protection instead of his own; but that means associating Macar specifically with Mytilene, for which there is no outside justification, and it is apparently 'the island' (32) as a whole that is in question).<sup>2</sup> However this may be, I take it that the lion is a talisman, and that the φάρμακα are a rationalization (cf. Polyæn. 8. 43, as elucidated by Burkert, *Structure and History*, 59–62),<sup>3</sup> likewise the γράμματα, and the law.

col. ii. 4 K[ρ]ῆτας τ[ε]. If introducing the Cretan account of something, Κρηῆτες would be expected, and that is perhaps not ruled out. But the construction may be Κρηῆτας NN φησι *vel sim.* Unless a new entry commenced at 7, the authority in question may be Hellanicus, 15–16.

5 Διονύ]σια, θυ]σία, etc. etc.

6 Perhaps καλεῖσθαι *vel sim.*, if this is another aition.

11 θηρι]. Cf. 29?

12 e.g. εὐ]θέως, ἐν]θέως possible, but with βουλήι immediately following and τὸν Ἰωνοῦ probably to be recognized in 14 it is hard to resist τοῦ Ἰωνοῦ.

13 ὠμηγετῆι. Aitia of Dionysus ὠμηγετῆς at 17–27, 27–30 below, where see further. Ζώνυsson ὠμηγετῆν at Alc. 129. 9 (XVIII 2165 fr. 1 i 9); and Alc. 129 directly precedes Alc. 130, the source of the lemma at 31–3 below. But whether what we have in the papyrus refers in any direct way to that is open to doubt; and I see no likely place for a lemma.

Δι]ονύσει not excluded.

14 τὸν Ἰωνοῦ. The reading is not immediately suggested by the remains, but ποιοῦν (τὸν Ὀμν?) θεό[ν] is unrewarding, and *ει* is acceptable if what appears to be the lower right of ο (or θ) is rather the left hasta of μ. If *ει* is the word must be *ει*.

<sup>1</sup> Hellanicus cited only for the form of the name 'Πόδη, not 'Πόδος, not for Macar's parentage.

<sup>2</sup> Sardis and Lesbos have something else in common. The story of Cyrus' capture of Sardis as told in Parth. 22 (from Lycimnius of Chios and Hermesianax) is an exact structural replica of the story of Achilles' capture of Methymna as told in Parth. 21 (from ὁ τῆν Λέσβου κτίειν ποιήσας—AR fr. 12 Powell). I will not speculate, but it may also be noted that Achilles had no difficulty in taking any of the island's cities except Methymna.

<sup>3</sup> According to Myrsilus' unorthodox account (F 1) the Lemnian women's *δυσομοία* was caused not by Aphrodite but by φάρμακα thrown on to the island by Medea. This is attested for his *Λεσβιακά*, bk. 1: apropos of what?

## Possible contextual leads:

(1) Smintheus and Cretans. *κύνθος* Cretan for 'mouse', utilized in a 'Cretan' formula serving as aition for *Κμινθεύς/Κμίνθιος* as epiclesis of Apollo: Schol. A II. 1. 39, Str. 13. 1. 48, cf. (παρὰ Κρησίου), Schol. Clem. Protr. 2. 39. 7 (Κρησίων ἐγχωρίων), Polemo (FHG iii 124) ap. Sc. (Mysian), Ael. NA 12. 5 (Aeolian and Trojan).

(2) Smintheus and Lesbos. (a) Cult of Apollo Smintheus: very well known in this part esp. Str. 13. 1. 48, with Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad* 241-5), if not actually attested for Lesbos. (b) commonly taken to attest the cult's existence at Methymna—so most recently H.-G. Buchholz 204—is to be associated with the Smintheion on the mainland just opposite: IG xii Suppl. p. 519 = CIG ii add. 2190b.) A Mytilenean prytanis by name of Sminthinas: Dittenberger, OGIS 140 (Anticleides) F 4. This is a story of the Penthelid colonization, and features a Smintheus. For attempted connection between (a) and (b) see Tümpel in RE s.v. Enalos.

(3) Smintheus and Omestes/Dionysus. A remarkable juxtaposition. (a) In the Smintheus aition to Polemo (see (1) above) Apollo ended the plague of mice by shooting them; but in the version briefy Apollon. Soph. s.v. *Κμινθεύ* (143. 9), in reference to the origin of the Sminth(e)ia festival at Rhodes, *καὶ Διόνυσος διέφθειραν τοὺς μύακας*. Suspect, and it may be frivolous to mention (b) Philomnestus' *κλῆσις π. τῶν ἐν Ῥόδῳ Κμινθίων* of Antheas of Lindos who πάντα τὸν βίον ἐδιονυσίαζεν, FGrHist 527 F 2.

I see little help in any of the above, unless we care to build on the possibility raised by the Enalos story. Smintheus is the name of a man. *Κμινθίως(?) βουλῆτι* at 12 does not point in that direction, but Omestes following aition (17-27) may be comparable, and *ἐπ' ἀτελεί[α]* here (15) curiously matches *ἐπὶ τῆι ἐπιτοῦ θεοῦ* there (25 f.). But Smintheus and *ὠμηγετής* in mutual vicinity remain somewhat startling.

16 It is tempting to recognize Hellenicus here as at i 10 (and with the same spelling). *Ἐλα* would suit the remains. *Μυρ[τ]ίλ[ο]ρ*. (unless *Μυρ[ε]*). It is not certain that the name is to be recognized. If it is, the same coincidence with Alc. 129. 28 *Μύρτιλ[ο]*, given that Alc. 129 and Alc. 130, the latter the source of the lemma 31-3 below, are in direct succession in 2165, and that Dionysus Omestes is mentioned at Alc. 129. 9. But we cannot take this further. (2) Myrsilus of the Pelops-Oenomaus story. This would hardly be worth entertaining were it not for the fact that *Ὀνόμα[ι]* would make a good reading in the next line. (3) Myrsilus of Methymna, (I believe) at i 24-5. In context, (3) seems likeliest.

*Μυρτίλος* δὲ is the expected opening, but the space is on the generous side and δ is hardly to be reconciled with the remains; perhaps a correction (but δ' to δε is not suggested). *ἐπὶ Μακάρο[ι]* is by no means assured, but of seems better than α[ ] or ε[ ] and ι[ ] is excluded; ω[ ] might be read but *ἐπὶ μακάρων* seems unlikely; 'in Macar's time?'

What follows is an aition of Dionysus' epiclesis 'Omestes' ('raw-eater'), as 26f. expressly states (provided that *ὠμηγετής* is correctly recovered there, but the reading is in little effective doubt). It is unorthodox (27 8 [ο]ῖ δὲ πολλοί), presumably local, and there is no trace of it elsewhere. (Attestations of Dionysus *ὠμηγετής*: Alc. loc. cit.; Plu. *Them.* 13. 3 (Phanias fr. 25 Wehrli<sup>2</sup>), *Arist.* 9. 2, *Pelop.* 21. 3, cf. *Ant.* 24. 5, *Mor.* 462 v; *AP* ix 524. 25; *Corp. Paroem. Gr.* ii p. 735; cf. *EM* (= *Et. Gen.*), Hesych. s.v. Cf. Henrichs, *Entr. Hardt* xxvii 221-3.) The aition has to do with a sacrifice (19, 24), to Dionysus (24). But unless I have misconceived the matter, it is not Dionysus himself who is *ὠμηγετής*. τὸν *ὠμηγετήν* cannot be verified at 24-5, but suits the remains well. If it is right, we have a sacrifice to Dionysus either of or by δ *ὠμηγετής*; which was performed ἐπὶ τῆι ἱερωσύνηι τοῦ θεοῦ, whatever that may mean.

At 18-20 something on the pattern of *κε[ ]λεῦσαι θύειν δ' ἂν λη[φθῆ]ι πρῶ[ ]τον ἐκ τῶν πολε[μίων]* suggests itself, though the supplied elements might be different, e.g. *(κυμ)βου[ ]λεῦσαι* or even *βασι[ ]λεῦσαι, πόλε[μ]ον* or *πολε[μ]ίων*. Cf. the Tyrrhenians' ex-voto sacrifice of the bravest of their Liparacan enemies in the story of Call. *Ael.* fr. 93, in combination with Myrsilus' account of the Tyrrhenians' tithe-sacrifice (FGrHist 477 F 8), which turns on the neglect of its human component. Here δ not δν: they did not anticipate its being human. 22 καλόν: therefore *κάλλισ[ ]τον* 19-20? (For these last two motifs together cf. E. IT 20f.) *ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ χένορος ὄν*: that the victim be of royal blood is ritually normal (cf. e.g. the three Persians sacrificed to Dionysus Omestes at Salamis according to Phan. *Hist.* fr. 25 Wehrli<sup>2</sup>; they were also *κάλλιστοι*); but the reading is not assured; I cannot exclude *γεν[δ]μενον*.

δ *ὠμηγετής* of itself could designate an animal—a lion—but I should imagine the victim is human. This

would accord with traditions of human sacrifice to Dionysus in this part of the world (Farnell, *Cults* 5. 156, 164f., 167, F. Schwenn, *Menschenopfer* 71-5, Henrichs loc. cit.; attested specifically for Lesbos by Dosiades *ap. Clem. Al. Protr.* 3. 42. 5, *FGrHist* 458 F 7). τὸν Ὀμηγετήν at 24-5 must I think apply neither to god nor to animal but to a man by the name of Omestes. This hypothesis also has the advantage of accounting for what would otherwise be most anomalous, the apparent absence of any raw flesh-eating in the tale here told. The most closely comparable hominification may be that of Smintheus in the Enalus story (see on 14 above), that too purveyed by Myrsilus; but there no connection is made between the man and Apollo. Cf. also Myrsilus' name-explanations of the Ozolian Locrians (F 6, etymological), of the Muses (F 7, etymological and euhemeristic; connected with Macar), of Ino Leucothea (F 10, etymological), and of the Hyades (F 15: *ὄτι τὸν Διόνυκον ἀνεθρέψαντο*—sc. *Διον. Ὑην?*).

Whether Omestes is the performer or the victim of the sacrifice depends upon the construction of 24-5. Anthropological considerations might suggest the latter, but they are of dubious relevance here, and if ὄν (or ὄν) is right in 23, τὸν Ὀμηγετήν must be the subject. In 25 ἐπὶ τῆν ἱερω(ι)ξύννημ seems a good if not inevitable reading; I cannot make a phrase of the type ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν, though ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερωῶν seems to have been first written. Is the meaning that Omestes carried out the sacrifice in order to acquire the priesthood (*LSJ* ἐπί B III 2, cf. 3, 4?)? Cf. ἐπ' ἀτελεῖ[α] in 15 above; the priesthood would be a similarly desirable thing to have. I have also considered τῆν ἐπὶ τ. ἰ. (~ τῆν ἱερείαν), abandoning ὠμηγετήν, but find no salvation there.

Much else is still left obscure, and the sense of the whole is elusive.

What followed ὠμηγετήν in 18 is problematic. Οἴνομα[-], as mentioned above, would fit well, but is it apt? Other possibilities: (i) τὸ ὄνομα or just ὄνομα (or verb): either reading rather forced (hardly room for τ; seemingly a narrow letter intervening between ο and ν); (ii) τὸν νόμο[ν]: very forced. (iii) μά[ντων; preceded by what? (οἰκω)νόμα[ντων?]

There is no hope of reading what stood in 21-2. In 21 τοὺς (αὐ)]τοὺς?) οὖν εὐληφότα[(c) would be acceptable, and I cannot exclude οὐ νείκην (nor εἰρήνην). 21-2 not necessarily λη]φθέντα(c). Apparently not παιδίον before καλόν in 22.

The ἱερόν of Dionysus at Bresa was reputedly founded by Macar (*Androtion ap. EM* s.v. *βρεσαῖος*, cf. *IG* xii 2. 478) but there is no clear relevance in that, nor in Aelian's action-packed story of a Mytilenean priest of Dionysus called Macarcus (*VH* 13. 2). Similarly doubtful, despite the existence of the precinct of the three divinities (*Alc.* 129, *Sapph.* 17), is the possibility of a connection between the sacrifice of the fairest recounted here (if κάλλιε]τον at 19-20) and the Lesbian *καλλιτεία* attested at *Schol. Il.* 9. 129, which is plausibly identified with the female beauty festival/contest of *Alc.* 130b 16-20 *Voigt* = 130. 31-5 L-P (for further refs. see *Page S&A* 168 n. 4, supplemented by *Erbse* ad loc.).

27-30 'The vulgate version is that it is because of the maenads, who tear apart raw such wild beasts as come into their hands.'

This explanation of the epiclesis is a bit elliptical (unless it implies ὠμηγετής, but that is unheard of), but I am not sure there is warrant for διασπῶα <καὶ ἐθίουει>. *Schol. Ar. Ra.* 360, on *ταυροφάγος, διέσπων βοῦς καὶ ἕθειον ὠμὰ κρέα*, with which cf. *Hesych.* in *ὠμηγετής* (ω 189 *Schmidt*) ὁ ὠμὰ κρέα ἐθίων. The etymological 'raw-eater' is regularly operative in the word's use, as applied to Dionysus and otherwise.

Presumably ὠμὰ διασπῶει rather than ὠμάδια σπῶα (could such a rearticulation be the adjective's genesis?), and τῶν θηρίων partitive, though the phrasing does not seem quite normal; I see no superior alternative to ἐλθ[ό]ντα.

31-3 *Alc.* 130b 9-11 *Voigt* (130. 24-6 L-P): 2165 fr. 1 ii 17-19. The new papyrus makes three textual contributions.

(1) ωθ. ρ. σ. In 2165 Mr Lobel read . θα. ριος (suggesting c or ε for the first letter), and the accepted text is ἐνθαδ' οδος. I have inspected 2165 under glass, and would read ωθᾶ. ριος. (ω: at the top the ink has run a little on a raised fibre; there is more ink above, I should imagine a grave accent, but abrasion and stray ink hereabouts make it impossible to be sure; before θ certainly not ν. Between ᾶ and ρ the papyrus is broken, with slight traces of ink at either side. ρ: the papyrus is damaged but most of the letter is extant; not ο, I should say.) The only meaningful interpretation of the data that I can suggest is Ὠθᾶναος 'the Athenian', written -αιος in 2165. (Line 31 is unusually short, but the right margin is very irregular throughout.)

(2) λυκαυχμίααι: λυκαυχμίααι 2165. It is now evident that in 2165 the intention was λυκαυχμίααι, λυκαυχμίααι being merely scribal error (corrected it seems by the first hand), and that the *Hesychian* lexis λ 1369 is λυκαυχμίααι, as the *antistocharium* *Cod. Vat. gr.* 23, where the offered gloss is ὁ λυκόβρωτος (ὁ λυκόβρωτος *Hesych. cod.*). Choice now seems limited to acceptance of the gloss or recognition of a cognate of αἰχμή,

'wolf-spearman'? (I must admit that now that we no longer have ἔνθαδ' οἶος as predicate I should be happier if λυκαίχμιαίς were object of εὐόκησα, but with the connection with αμ- now severed 'wolf-thickets' becomes untenable.)

(3) φεύγων τ[όν: . [ . . . ]ον 2165, where in fact φ[ makes a good reading. (φεύγων conii. Diehl, *RM* 92 (1943) 1 ff.; the repetition 'nicht zuzutrauen' Latte, *MH* 4 (1947) 141, understandably, but cf. Kamerbeek, *Mnemos.* ser. 3 13 (1947) 116.) τόν, resisted by Lobel and Page, is now unavoidable.

(While in this vicinity I may add that at 2165 fr. 1 ii 17 the reading appears to be εχαταίαις with subsequently added high stop, not apostrophe.)

If Onomacles was a legendary Athenian figure (an *Ur*-Timon?) it is odd that we do not otherwise hear of him in Athenian tradition. Was he an Athenian who had come to Lesbos or the Troad? Cf. on 33 ff. Five Ὀνομακλής entries in Kirchner, *Prosopogr. Attica* (v-ii BC), of which one finds a place in J. K. Davies, *Athen. Propertied Families*; the name also in *Tabb. devotium Atticae*, no. 12. The supposed *Onomacles* of Sophocles is a ghost, exorcized by Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 744.

33 ff. Αἶνος Θρ[ά]κικης πόλις κτλ. What has this to do with the lemma? From the comment alone one would guess that the lemma mentioned Aenus, and I have scrutinized ωθ. γ. ος with that in mind, but it is certain that nothing of the sort lurks there. I can only suppose that Onomacles and Aenus are connected in some way which the comment proceeded to elucidate. But if the Athenians (given Ὀθῆναος in the lemma) had anything to do with Aenus in this early period, it receives no mention in our sources. We hear only of the clash over Sigeum (cf. Alc. 428, 167), nothing of any other Athenian activity in the region. Alcacus and Aenus: fr. 45, Ἐβρε κτλ, but no link here with that.

Settlements of Aenus: esp. Ephorus *FGrHist* 70 F 39 (π. Θρακίων πολιματων bk. 4, ap. Harpocr. Αἰνίους), . . . Αἶνος πόλις, ἣν Ἕλληνες τὰ πρῶτα Ἄλωπεκονήσιοι κατώκισαν (v.l. -ησαν), ὕστερον δὲ ἐκ Μιτυλήνης ἐπηγάγοντο καὶ Κύμης ἐποίκουσιν (whence ps.-Scymn. 696), similarly Strabo 7. 61 with fr. 52; cf. also Hellanicus *FGrHist* 4 F 197bis (PSI XIV 1390 fr. C ii marg. inf., Schol. Euph. *Hippomedon* 3); Aristotle *ap. Suppl. Hell.* 454 (XXX 2567) 5; Apollod. *FGrHist* 244 F 184; Euph. *Suppl. Hell.* 416 with fr. 62 Powell, Call. fr. 697; Steph. Byz., *Et. Mag. Αἶνος*.

In l. 34 Αἶνος was my first reading, but Αἶνον may be equally acceptable. The reference will be not to the city but to its eponymous hero. ἀπὸ Αἶνον is the expected phrase, and ἀ[πό, though hardly suggested, is not excluded for the end of 33. Cf. Steph. Byz., Αἶνος πόλις Θράκης . . . οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Αἶνον τοῦ Γουνέως ἀδελφοῦ. In the papyrus we have not brother Guneus but evidently a more normal form of identification, X's son. The father's name is elsewhere attested only at *Suppl. Hell.* 416. 3 (Euph. *Hippomedon* 3, PSI XIV 1390 fr. C ii 30): Πόλ[ι]τος φς Αἶν[ο]ν τε . . . ερ. . . ἰάδαο π[. There the patronymic appears as Γερω-τ-ιαδαο, with ον or ων written above ω (see Parsons and Lloyd-Jones ad loc., cf. Latte, *Philol.* 90 (1935) 131). Whatever the import of the supralination there, the cancellation of τ is in accord with what we find here. Γερωι is reasonably secure (γ looks better than τ in both papyri), beyond that the form of the name is still unclear. Perhaps Γερωιά (cf. e.g. Γράς), with κρητῶν[ισσαν (or -ησαν l. -ισαν) following and bringing the line to its end. Γερωιέως ὠκ[ισσαν less suitable, for while ως is not excluded the letter after ι is hardly ε; it could be ο, to give Γερῶιου, but α is more suggested. Γερωιάς (I take it ωι is diphthongal rather than disyllabic; either form could yield Euphorion's Γερωιάδης) is not a known name, but perhaps not an impossible one. The relation between this tradition and Stephanus' notice (either he did not find the father's name, or the notice is corrupt or defective) is unclear: Guneus' father was Ocytus (Apollod. *epit.* 3. 14, Hyg. *fab.* 93. 13 [*Cyrenus Ociti* cod., cf. on 3702 20f. above]).

fr. 2

	·	·	·	·
		]. φων[ ] [		
		]εσβι. [ ] [		
		]κεινος [		
		]νθε [		
5		]ορο [		
		]. ζολυδων[		
		]νιςχυνμε [		
		]. θονφηςιν [		
		]κονταταλ. ν [		
10		] [		
		]. ζ. . . ωναν [		
		]λκαιος [		
		]. . χελ. [		
		]. ροσκαι. [		
15		]ωμουσα. [		
		]. ηκοφ [		
	·	·	·	·

1 ], perhaps ο 2 ], ο, ω? hardly α 6 ], specks suitable for η, perhaps not excluding . φ 8 ], possible upright φ, ε not excluded? 9 ], α acceptable 11 ]εσπιτων a possible decipherment 14 ], speck suggesting ν 16 ], top and foot of apparent upright α ligatured to top of short upright, ν? 16 ], upright

fr. 2. I find no acceptable place for this fragment in the upper part of fr. 1 ii. It may come from the column directly preceding fr. 1 i, but I cannot confirm it.

2 Α]έσβιφ[ι] seems probable.

6 Possibly Αλυάττ]ης δ' Αλυδών | [βασιλεύς, but I cannot rule out e.g. Κροί]κος, and the reference might be something quite different. Cf. XXIX 2506 fr. 98, 102, 135.

7 ιςχὺν με|γάλην?

9 -κοντα τάλαν|τ-. ?Cf. Alc. 69.

12 Α]λκαῖος.

15 β]ωμοὺς possibly, but not 16 εηκ-.



Possible contextual leads:

(1) Smintheus and Cretans. *σμίνθος* Cretan for 'mouse', utilized in a 'Cretan' foundation-story and serving as aition for *Σμινθεύς/Σμίνθιος* as epicleris of Apollo: Schol. A *Il.* 1. 39, Str. 13. 1. 48, cf. Schol. Lyc. 1303 (παρὰ Κρητῶν), Schol. Clem. *Protr.* 2. 39. 7 (Κρητῶν ἐγγχωρίων), Polemo (*FHG* iii 124) *ap.* Schol. AD *Il.* 1. 1. 39 (Mysian), Ael. *NA* 12. 5 (Aeolian and Trojan).

(2) Smintheus and Lesbos. (a) Cult of Apollo Smintheus: very well known in this part of the world (see esp. Str. 13. 1. 48, with Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad* 241–5), if not actually attested for Lesbos. (The inscription commonly taken to attest the cult's existence at Methymna—so most recently H.-G. Buchholz, *Methymna* 204—is to be associated with the Smintheion on the mainland just opposite: *IG* xii Suppl. p. 32 on *IG* xii 2. 519 = *CIG* ii *add.* 2190b.) A Mytilenean prytanis by name of Sminthinas: Dittenberger, *OGIS* 2. 36 (iv BC).

(b) The Methymnean story of Enalus: *FGrHist* 477 (Myrsilus) F 14 (together with Plu. *Mor.* 163 A–D), *FGrHist* 140 (Anticleides) F 4. This is a story of the Penthelid colonization, and features a daughter of Smintheus. For attempted connection between (a) and (b) see Tümpel in *RE* s.v. Enalos.

(3) Smintheus and Omestes/Dionysus. A remarkable juxtaposition. (a) In the Smintheus aition ascribed to Polemo (see (1) above) Apollo ended the plague of mice by shooting them; but in the version briefly given by Apollon. Soph. s.v. *Σμινθεύς* (143. 9), in reference to the origin of the Sminth(e)ia festival at Rhodes, *Ἀπόλλων καὶ Διόνυσος διέφθειραν τοὺς μύσας*. Suspect, and it may be frivolous to mention (b) Philomnestus' telling in his π. τῶν ἐν Ῥόδῳ *Σμινθίων* of Antheas of Lindos who πάντα τὸν βίον ἐδιονυκίαζεν, *FGrHist* 527 F 2.

I see little help in any of the above, unless we care to build on the possibility raised by the Enalus story that Smintheus is the name of a man. *Σμινθ|θέωσ(?) βουλή* at 12 does not point in that direction, but Omestes in the following aition (17–27) may be comparable, and ἐπ' ἀτελεῖ[α]; here (15) curiously matches ἐπὶ τῆι ἱερωσύνῃ τοῦ θεοῦ there (25f.). But Smintheus and ὠμηγετής in mutual vicinity remain somewhat startling.

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17 *Μυρ[τ]ίλορ.* (unless *Μυρ[ε-]*). It is not certain that the name is to be recognized. If it is, the same choices for identification are presented as at i 24–5. (1) Myrsilus the tyrant: perhaps a lemma, perhaps indeed a coincidence with Alc. 129. 28 *Μύριλ[ο]*, given that Alc. 129 and Alc. 130, the latter the source of the lemma at 31–3 below, are in direct succession in 2165, and that Dionysus Omestes is mentioned at Alc. 129. 9. But I cannot take this further. (2) Myrsilus of the Pelops-Oenomaus story. This would hardly be worth entertaining were it not for the fact that *Ὀνόμα[ ]* would make a good reading in the next line. (3) Myrsilus of Methymna, as (I believe) at i 24–5. In context, (3) seems likeliest.

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The ἱερόν of Dionysus at Bresa was reputedly founded by Macar (*Androtion ap. EM* s.v. βρεσαῖος, cf. *IG* xii 2. 478) but there is no clear relevance in that, nor in Aelian's action-packed story of a Mytilenean priest of Dionysus called Macareus (*VH* 13. 2). Similarly doubtful, despite the existence of the precinct of the three divinities (*Alc.* 129, *Sapph.* 17), is the possibility of a connection between the sacrifice of the fairest recounted here (if κάλλις[των] at 19-20) and the Lesbian καλλιτεία attested at *Schol. Il.* 9. 129, which is plausibly identified with the female beauty festival/contest of *Alc.* 130b 16-20 Voigt = 130. 31-5 L-P (for further refs. see Page *S&A* 168 n. 4, supplemented by Erbse ad loc.).

27-30 'The vulgate version is that it is because of the maenads, who tear apart raw such wild beasts as come into their hands.'

This explanation of the epicthesis is a bit elliptical (unless it implies ὦμηγετής, but that is unheard of), but I am not sure there is warrant for διασπῶει (<καὶ ἐσθίουσι>). *Schol. Ar. Ra.* 360, on ταυροφάγος, διέσπων βοῦς καὶ ἤεθιον ὠμὰ κρέα, with which cf. *Hesych.* in ὠμηγετής (ω 189 Schmidt) ὁ ὠμὰ κρέα ἐσθίων. The etymological 'raw-eater' is regularly operative in the word's use, as applied to Dionysus and otherwise.

Presumably ὠμὰ διασπῶει rather than ὠμάδια σπῶει (could such a rearticulation be the adjective's genesis?), and τῶν θηρίων partitive, though the phrasing does not seem quite normal; I see no superior alternative to ἐλλ[ό]ντα.

31-3 *Alc.* 130b 9-11 Voigt (130. 24-6 L-P): 2165 fr. 1 ii 17-19. The new papyrus makes three textual contributions.

(1) ωθ. γ. ος. In 2165 Mr Lobel read . . . θα. ριος (suggesting ε or ε for the first letter), and the accepted text is ἐνθαδ' ολος. I have inspected 2165 under glass, and would read ωθᾶ. αμος. (ω: at the top the ink has run a little on a raised fibre; there is more ink above, I should imagine a grave accent, but abrasion and stray ink hereabouts make it impossible to be sure; before θ certainly not ν. Between ᾶ and α the papyrus is broken, with slight traces of ink at either side. α: the papyrus is damaged but most of the letter is extant; not ο, I should say.) The only meaningful interpretation of the data that I can suggest is Ὠθάναος 'the Athenian', written -αιος in 2165. (Line 31 is unusually short, but the right margin is very irregular throughout.)

(2) λυκαίμιας: λυκαίμιας 2165. It is now evident that in 2165 the intention was λυκαίμιας, λυκαίμιας being merely scribal error (corrected it seems by the first hand), and that the *Hesychian* lexis λ 1369 is λυκαίμιας, as the *antistocharium* *Cod. Vat. gr.* 23, where the offered gloss is ὁ λυκόβρωτος (ὁ λυκόβρωτος *Hesych. cod.*). Choice now seems limited to acceptance of the gloss or recognition of a cognate of αἰχμή,

## II. KNOWN LITERARY TEXTS

### 3712-19. EURIPIDES

Presented under these numbers are such manuscripts of Euripides' later plays—those constituting vol. iii of the OCT—as have been identified in the Egypt Exploration Society's holdings and not previously published. I am indebted to Dr J. Diggle for additions and corrections.

#### 3712. EURIPIDES, *Phoenissae* 50-69

18 2B.66/F(5)e

5.5 × 17.5 cm

Second century

Remains of a single column, written in a crude and heavy hand probably of the second century, comparable with Schubart, *P. Gr. Berol.* 24 only without cursive forms. It may be the hand of a schoolboy; in that case the text may not have continued beyond the prologue. The same may be true of P. Ant. II 74 (*Phoen.* 31-5). The papyrus, of poor quality, is of double thickness; for such reinforcement at the beginning of a roll cf. XLVIII 3369. An unusual feature is the occurrence of an oblique stroke at the ends of lines; this is clearly visible in v. 56 (which apparently stops short) and v. 68, and it may well be that every line was so terminated. (I owe the suggestion to Mr Parsons.) The apparent misdivision of vv. 56-7 may have some connection with this. Perhaps the object of the exercise was articulation of the text into its constituent verses, whether from dictation or from a text written out as prose. There are one or two interlinear glosses, written smaller but in all probability by the same writer. The back is blank.

The text overlaps XLVII 3321 and 3322. Verse 52 is present.

For the readings of the medieval manuscripts I have used the collations in D. J. Mastronarde and J. M. Bremer, *The Textual Tradition of Euripides' Phoinissai*, q.v. also for testimonia (402 ff.) and a list of other *Phoenissae* papyri (17-19), to which this and the following three numbers may now be added.

(a)	.	.	.	
	εμος π]αις ρι[διπους			50
	οθεν τυραννος τ]ησδ[ε			
	και κκηπτρ επα]θλα της[δε	(b)	.	
	γαμει δε την τ]εκουσ[αν ουκ ειδως τα]λας [			
	ουδ η τεκουσα παιδι κυγκοιμω]μενη			
	τικτω δε παιδα παιδι] δυο μεν αρρενας			55
	ετεοκλεα κλεινην τε] πολυνεικου / [			
	κορας τε δισσα]ε' την μεν ειςμιμηνη]ν πατηρ			
	ωνομασε την δε προσθ]εν αντιγονην εγω [			
	μαθων δε ταμα λεκτρα] μητρων γαμω[ν			
	ο παντ ανατλας οιδιπο]υς παθηματα			60
		] φονον [		
		] κορας [		
		σκια]ζεται [		
		αμν]ημων τ[υχη		
		σοφικ]ματω[ν		65
		τ]ησ τυχ[ησ		
		]. [		
		το]δε /		
		τελεσφ]ορ[ο]υς		
	.	.	.	

50 There is no telling whether the first word of the line in 3712 was *μούσας* with 3322 and Schol., or *αἴνιγμ'* with codd. (I take it that *αἴνιγμα* started life as a gloss on *μούσας*, cf. Schol. ad loc., and that it will have already intruded itself into some copies of the text by the 2nd c.)

51-2 Both 51 and 52 are present, as in 3321; 3322 is without 52. (The absence in 3322, unless simple accident by homocomeson, may be viewed either in terms of a less interpolated text or in terms of an excision designed to eliminate *ἐπαθλα*; but excision, as distinct from athetesis, is a phenomenon which could scarcely be more weakly attested.) It is clear from the relative positions of the remains that 3712 did not have the *μεταγραφὴ* of 52 recorded by Schol., *καὶ κκῆπτρα χώρας ἀθλα*.

55 *ἄρρενας* is the reported spelling of all the manuscripts except V and G.

56-7 Something went wrong here. The transmitted text is *Πολυνείκουσ βίαν / κόρας τε δισά]ε*. In 56 the papyrus text seems to stop short at *Πολυνείκουσ*, and at the beginning of 57 *κόρας τε δισά]ε* is a supplement too short by about four letters. It is thus an obvious suspicion that *βίαν* was written at the beginning of 57 instead of at the end of 56. Such misdivision of stichic iambs can happen, cf. e.g. 12-13, *πατήρ ἔθετο | γαμεί δέ* three recc. (for *πατήρ | ἔθετο: γαμεί δέ*), *πατήρ ε | ἔθετο κτλ.* 3321. *Πολυνείκουσ* not *-ουσ* seems to have been written, possibly in assimilation to 1st decl. (cf. acc. regularly written *Πολυνείκην*) or even to *-νικος; Πολυνείκουσ* also in the Jerusalem palimpsest at 1629; cf. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 69f. But there does seem to be some washed out ink after *-ουσ*, and more ink just below, which may or may not be associated with the supralineation above 57 *Εἰςμήνη[ν*, and *Πολυνείκουσ* may at some stage have been the intention.

The supralineations in 57 are glosses, I expect, *δύο* and *θυγατέρα*, marked off at either side; but the damage precludes verification.

62 del. Fraenkel.

67 ] . The final traces are incompatible with the end of the transmitted *ἀνοσιωτάτας*, with or without stop, but could well be another diagonal. It is possible that each line ended with a diagonal dash, as at 56 and 68. In 53, 58, 61-3, and 69 the papyrus breaks off too soon to allow one to see; at the end of 54 and 55 there are perhaps faint traces of ink before the papyrus breaks off.

### 3713. EURIPIDES, *Phoenissae* 244-50

41 5B.79/F(3-4)a

3 × 4 cm

Second century

A scrap written across the fibres in a small neat sloping angular hand of familiar type probably to be assigned to the later second century rather than to the third. On the front are a few remains in an informal second-century hand.

At v. 246 the papyrus seems to have had a reading different from that of the medieval manuscripts. These lines are not extant in any other papyrus.

. . . . .

] [

κ]οινα δ· ε[ι τι] π[εισεται  
 ε]πτάπυργος α[δε γα 245  
 φ]οινίccaca . . [

κοι]νον αμμ[α] [κοινα τεκνα  
 τας κ]εραφορο[υ πεφυκει ιουc  
 ων με]τεστι μ[οι πονων  
 αμφι δε] πτο[λιν νεφος 250

. . . . .

244 Apparently this is the first line of the column.

δ· Apparently a high stop rather than an apostrophe.

246 The transmitted text is *φοινίσα χώρα* (v.l. *φοίνισσα χώρα*)· *φεῦ φεῦ*, and the corresponding line in the antistrophe confirms the extraordinary metre. The papyrus had something else. From the first *α* to the point where the papyrus breaks off the writing is undamaged. What remains after the second *α* is I think best read as πτ[: π intact, followed by the beginning of the crossbar of τ; but since the horizontal is unbroken, it is possible to assign the strokes differently, to give either γγ[ or ιτ[. We may articulate either *Φοινίccac* or *Φοίνισca*: *Φοινίccac* not excluded, but in this hand I should have expected the iota to be written. Not *Φοινίccac* ἀπό, in reminiscence of v. 204. 245 *επτάπυργος* is miswritten *ἀπτάπυργος* in L, but that is unlikely to be relevant. Dr Diggle suggests the possibility of a dittographic slip *Φοινίccac*{*ca*} followed by πτ[ολιc (or -ει).

250 πτόλιν rightly with MBR: πόλιν vell.



3714. EURIPIDES, *Phoenissae* 625-35

34 4B.77/H(3-6)b

4.5 × 7.3 cm

First century BC or AD

This scrap probably comes from the same manuscript as IX 1177 (plate in B. E. Donovan, *Euripides Papyri I*, Am. Stud. Pap. 5, pl. i), though without more text it is difficult to be quite sure. The play-text is on the back of an apparent register which is written in a cursive hand seemingly of the first century BC (remains of six lines). The *Phoenissae* text of 1177 was placed by Hunt in the early first century of our era, the external evidence including a strip of a document 'dated in the reign of Augustus' pasted on the front for reinforcement. Hunt evidently thought the reinforcement was done before the play-text was written; I do not know if anything excludes the contrary possibility, which would put back the date of the *Phoenissae* text; certainly the script, a 'somewhat crabbed and irregular upright hand' (Hunt) with verticals and obliques serified at the foot, looks early enough.

No punctuation or other lectional apparatus is in evidence. Iota adscript written in error at v. 629.

The papyrus apparently offered some textual novelty at vv. 628 and 633, but in both cases scribal error seems probable.

. . . . .		
]		
]		
] ξιφος	625	
μα]ρτυρομαι		
εξελαυν]ομαι χθονος [		
]ρους γ[εγωσ		
] αιτιωι		
εξελαυνομ]αι χθονος	630	
μελαθρ]α χαιρετε		
α]γαλματα		
]ς υμας ποτ[ε]		
π]επειθα συν θεο[ις		
] θηβ[αι]α[ς χθ]ονος	635	
] [		
]] [		
. . . . .		

625 Though the papyrus is blank above, there is no reason to think this is column top, for the previous lines are in *antilabe*, and will have been divided accordingly: cf. 1177, and see at 3716 981 n.

628 γ[εγώc: not μολών as MBOV<sup>27</sup>PRW. Before it, where the papyrus proffers ]ρυc, we expect Οιδίπου as transmitted (om. FPSa). Just οιδιπ]ουc, I suppose, an easy unthinking blunder.

629 l. αἰτιώ.

630 del. Valckenaer.

633 The transmitted text (give or take some trivialities) is οὐ γὰρ οἶδ' εἴ μοι προσειπεῖν ἀθλιε ἔcθ' ὑμᾶc ποτέ. In the papyrus εἰ]c in place of ἔcθ' might be thought of (and a different verb for προσειπεῖν?), but simple omission, either of θ or of εcθ, seems likelier, and is consistent with the amount of space available for the lost part of the line. Alternatively, Dr Diggle, noting that ἀθλιε is omitted by a substantial number of MSS, suggests that the papyrus placed it after ἔcθ' (εcτ' ἀθλι]c ὑμᾶc ποτε): see CQ 33 (1983) 352 for examples where a word omitted by some of the MSS may be found misplaced in other MSS.

635 θηβ[αι]α]c: θηβ[αι]α]ν is not necessarily excluded by the trace, but suits the space less well.

### 3715. EURIPIDES, *Phoenissae*, COLOPHON

35 4B.66/E(1-3)a

16 × 7.5 cm

Second century

The end-title (presumably, cf. e.g. XLII 3000) of what must have been a true *édition de luxe*: the papyrus is of excellent quality, the script a supremely calligraphic 'Roman Uncial' comparable with the Hawara Homer (Turner *GMAW* 13). The hand is not that of any of the known papyrus manuscripts of the *Phoenissae*, and I have not recognized it among the other dramatic texts from Oxyrhynchus. Back blank.

Φ̄ OINICCAĪ  
ĒY[P]IPIIΔOȲ

The decorative arc above Φ is lost in a hole. The letters (except for Φ) are 4 mm high; the words are both c. 3.3 cm long; they are separated by a space of 1 cm. Blank papyrus, broken on all four sides except possibly the right, extends 7.4 cm to right, 5.2 to left, 1 below, 4.5 above.

### 3716. EURIPIDES, *Orestes* 941-51, 973-83

Plate V

24 3B.73/A(d)

6.5 × 10 cm

Second-first century BC

A scrap with remains of two columns written in a plain medium-sized Ptolemaic book-hand to be assigned perhaps to the later second century BC. The execution is not entirely regular, and the letters are somewhat crowded; the letter-strokes are uniformly thick. o is variable in size, μ has sloping sides and steep deep bow, π has convex legs, the right one shorter; while ε is round and does not have its mid-stroke detached, and θ similarly. Notable letter-forms are ζ, which takes the form **⊥**, and the 'lapidary' α, with high bent cross-stroke. ι and ρ tend to extend below the line, as does κ and to a lesser extent τ and π. τ looks less old, with a left-hooked foot (as κ and sometimes ι and φ) but an

unserifed top no shorter to the right than to the left. Various comparable are P. Mert. I 1 (earlier?) and the first hand of XXXIII 2654 (later, archaizing?). There are similarities with the *Orestes* manuscript IX 1178, but that has a later appearance and a different *a*.

No punctuation or other lectional apparatus is in evidence. On the assumption that vv. 957-9 were not present (cf. schol. ad loc., and e.g. *Or.* 1394, absent from 3717 below), there will have been *c.* 31 lines to the column, occupying a depth of *c.* 18 cm. The lyrics are colometrized. Antistrophe is separated from epode by a dipole obelismene which could well be by the scribe's own hand.

A stichometric *K* (v. 1000) is placed by either the scribe or a contemporary alongside what by the modern numeration is v. 981. A couple of marginalia in a much later hand indicate that the text received some critical attention. The back is blank.

The papyrus' text apparently accords with a small emendation at v. 976, offers an inferior reading (unless merely an orthographic error) at v. 978, and probably implies the coexistence of the transmitted variants at v. 946.

Collated against Biehl's Teubner edition (1975), where *Orestes* papyri are listed on pp. lx-lxi; now add P. Berlin P 17051 + 17014 (J. Lenaerts, *Papyrus littéraires grecs* [Pap. Brux. 13], no. 6, apparently from the same codex as P. Berlin 21180, Biehl's *Π<sup>10</sup>*), P. Köln III 131 (identified by M. Gronewald, *ZPE* 39 (1980) 35 and J. O'Callaghan, *Stud. Pap.* 20 (1981) 15) (vv. 134-42), 3717 and 3718 below; a Florence papyrus with vv. 196-216 is to be published by R. Pintaudi. To judge from the editor's description of the hand of P. Columbia inv. 517A (*CPh* 33 (1938) 411-13, Biehl's *Π<sup>1</sup>*; vv. 205-47), there is a chance that that comes from the same manuscript as the present fragment; but there the column has only 22 lines. For vv. 945-8 there is overlap with XI 1370 (*Π<sup>7</sup>* Biehl; v AD).

	col. i		col. ii	
			ζ[ηλος	
940	]		φθ[ονος	
	].		φρινι[α	975
	τις] αβ		ιω ω πα[νδακρυτ	
	]		εθνη πο[λυπονα	
	] [ ]		μοιραι βα[ινει	
	]. [ ]		ετερα δ[ετερος	
945	]. [ ]		πηματ [εν	980
	θ]ανειω <sup>ζη</sup>		βροτων δ ο [πας	
	εφ]αγηι	$\overline{K}$ —	μολομι τα[ν	
	].		μεσον χθ[ονος	
	εκκλητω]ν απο			





C.: 8 *fin.* ὡς ἐάν γε μεταβολὴ μόνον ἢ τροφῶν (sc. as distinct from strophe/antistrophe juncture, signalled normally by simple paragraphus), ἢ ἔξω βλέπουσα τίθεται (sc. διπλῆ, in combination with paragraphus, i.e. diplo obelismene); cf. Anecd. Parisin., *diple obelismene ad separandas in comoediis et tragœdiis periodos*. This seems to have been the system applied by Heliodorus to Aristophanes (O. Hense, *Heliodorische Untersuchungen* 35-48): evidently it goes back to the earliest days of Alexandrian colometrization. Cf. XLIV 3151 fr. 2 1/2 n. The Lille Stesichorus (P. Lille 76, *CRIPEL* 4 (1977) 287 ff.), which can claim to be the earliest colometrized text extant (I do not believe that either the Vienna *Orestes*, P. Vindob. G.2315, or the Leiden *IA*, P. Leid. inv. 510, is colometrized), employs paragraphus between stanzas (antistrophe/epode as well as strophe/antistrophe), coronis between triads: this too in accord with Heph. π. cημ. (2, pp. 73. 18-74. 3 C.).

No *nota personae*: evidently the whole ode was assigned to Electra, as in the medieval manuscripts. A simple paragraphus would be ambiguous (cf. Heph. loc. cit.), but the addition of the diplo gives it exclusively metrical significance.

δ ρ [πας: not δε [πας (O).

982 τ α [ν. The letter following τ is represented by a horizontal starting near the foot of τ, broken to the right: it does not suggest α; but I do not know what else it can be (not η).

983 π. . [ . ]. [: consistent with πετ[ρ]α[ν], as transmitted directly after αἰωρήμασι. Dr Diggle notes that, if this is right, αἰωρήμασι(ν) occupied a line to itself (unless some words following it have been lost in the other MSS); he has found the same colometry in A L Zd.

3717. EURIPIDES, *Orestes* 1377-96

16 2B.45/B(c)

6 × 9.5 cm

Second century

Mutilated remains of a single column written on the back of a second-century documentary text possibly of the reign of Antoninus Pius (ten broken lines, 2 ] Αἰλίου Ἀδ[ριανοῦ). The papyrus is of poor quality, and was already damaged when used for the *Orestes* text. The play-text is in a rapidly written irregular slanting script of no calligraphic pretension whatever, probably of the later second century. It is very similar to XXII 2335 (*Andromache*; plate in B. E. Donovan, *Euripides Papyri I*, Am. Stud. Pap. 5, pl. xiii), which is also on the back of a document: possibly even by the same hand, though I think not. Cf. also III 450 (*Medea*; Donovan, op. cit., pl. xvi).

The text is a careless piece of copying by an uncomprehending scribe. The spuriousness of v. 1394 is confirmed by its absence; also confirmed is Triclinius' obvious correction of the unmetrically transmitted v. 1380. But to the tormented lyrics it is doubtful whether the papyrus brings anything more valuable than a longer form of the exclamation at v. 1390. At v. 1382 it still has the καὶ that nearly all the medieval manuscripts have lost; but otherwise it shares the apparent corruptions of the paradosis, adding its own on top; not that this is any surprise, for the scholia too reflect the same text. What is a surprise is the colometry, which is significantly different (see the note at the head of the commentary).

For the citation of vv. 1381-5 by Demetrius Laco preserved in P. Herc. 1012 (Π<sup>14</sup> Biehl) I have relied on the transcription by E. Puglia, *Cron. Exc.* 10 (1980) 32 (essentially as Crönert in *NGG Philol.-hist. Kl.* 1922, 26f.); 3717 sides with the later manuscripts against its peculiar readings, notably the omission of the controversial v. 1384. For other *Orestes* papyri see the introduction to the previous number.

. . . . .  
 ] . . [  
 ] η πογ[τον ωκεανος ον ταυροκρανος  
 ] ανα[λαις ελις]ων κ[υκλοι χθονα  
 τι δ εστι]ν Ελεγη[ς προσπολ Ι]δα[ιον καρα 1380  
 ] ἴλι[ον ιλιον ωμ]οι μ[οι Φρυγιον αστυ  
 ] και κ[αλλιβωλον Ιδα]ς [ορος ιερων  
 ] ως ολομ[ενο]ν γ[εν]ω  
 ] αρματει[ον] αρματειο[ν] μελος βαρβαρωι βοαι  
 ] δια το τας [ορ]νθειοχορ[ον] ομμα 1385  
 ] κυανοπτει[ρο]ν καλ[λοσυνας  
 ] Αηδα ζκυ[μν]ορ [δυσελενας δυσελενας  
 ] ξεστων . . []περγα[μων  
 ] Απολ, ων[ιω]ν γ[εν]ω  
 ] οττοτοποτοι ἰαλ[εμων ιαλεμων 1390  
 ] Δαρδαγια τλαμ[ον  
 ] Γανυμη[δ]εος ιππ[οσυνα Διος ευνετα  
 καφως] αεξ [η]μειν λυς εκ[αστα ταν δομοις 1393  
 αιλινο]ν αιλι[νο]ν γ[εν]ω αρχαν [ 1395  
 ]. [  
 . . . . .

*Note on Colometry*

I have consulted facsimiles only of the Jerusalem palimpsest (H) and of Cod. Ven. Marc. 471 (M). These are in essential agreement, as follows (I give the beginning of each line, from 1377 to 1392): |πολιὸν |πόντον |ταυρό- |ἐλίςσων |(χ) τί δ' |(Φρ.) ἴλιον |Φρύγιον |Ἴδας |ὤς ε' |ἀρμάτειον |βαρβάρω |διὰ τὸ |κυκνό- |κύκμων |περγάμων |ὄττο- |ιαλέμων |Γανυμήθεος. This is H's colometry, except in so far as what stood between Φρύγιον ἄστυ καλλιβωλον, which ends a page, and ἀρμάτειον κτλ, of which only the letter-foot are visible, cannot be seen on the plate (S. G. Daitz, *The Jerusalem Palimpsest of Euripides*, pl. 33); but cf. Daitz, *The Scholia in the Jerusalem Palimpsest of Euripides* 115. M once conflates and once splits cola relative to H but otherwise has just the same divisions except at 1386-9, colometrized in oddly aberrant fashion (|κύκμων |δυσελένας alterum |λωνίων |ιαλέμων). The papyrus' colometry is quite different, effectively coinciding only at 1383-6 and 1392.

1377 . . [. Minimal traces: πο[λιον] not excluded but unverifiable.

1379 ανα[λαις]: i.e. ἀγκά[λαις]. A paragraphus would be expected here, but none is written.

1380 εστι]ν. ἔστιν restored by Triclinius: ἔστ' vel ἐσθ' codd., an obviously late corruption. Of ν in the papyrus the right *hasta* and a suggestion of the diagonal, certainly not θ or τ.

Ι]δα[ιον, 1382 Ιδα]ς. Written ιδ- (cf. 1381) or ειδ- (cf. 1385, 1389, 1393)? The shorter form seems to suit the space rather better in either place, but there can be no certainty.

1381 Apparently ωμ]οι μ[οι with codd: [ωμοι κ]ακων Π<sup>4</sup>. μ[ ] is reasonably secure: it could be λ or ν, but not κ.

1382 καὶ κ[αλλιβωλον. Of the medieval manuscripts only M, O supralin. and Monac. 560 have the καί; it seems that it was present in *IP*<sup>4</sup> too (αε{τν και κα}λλιβωλον). Certainly κακκ[ rather than καλλι[βωλον here.

1383 ωc: ωc' all the manuscripts except O, which like the papyrus wrongly omits c' (*IP*<sup>4</sup> has ω]c cε). But I doubt that this is a significant conjunction.

ολημ[ενο]ν. So codd. But on this reading there is unwanted ink between the supposed ο and μ, and ολλυ[μενο]ν is not excluded, though considerations of space support the shorter word. ὀλλύμενον is found in Z (Diggle), and would be no less acceptable metrically, but *ulrum in alterum* is against it; cf. e.g. 1364.

1384 The notorious ἀρμάτειον ἀρμάτειον μέλος was present in the papyrus as in the medieval manuscripts. It is probably this that Apollodorus of Cyrene suggested was a παρεπιγραφή (Schol. ad loc.; see A. R. Dyck, *HSCP* 85 (1981) 101, 103, O. Taplin, *PCPS* 203 (1977) 125), and it is absent from *IP*<sup>4</sup>.

1385 διὰ τὸ τὰς [ὄρ]νειθόγον[ον] (unless -γόν[ου] with the paradosis (ὄρνθο-), implied also by the scholia.

1386 κυανόπτει[ρο]ν: κυκνόπτερον codd. and scholl. Unless something other than -πτερον (but neither κυανον nor κυανομυ- is to be read), presumably a simple error. κυανόπτερος ὄρνις *Andr.* 862 (where read κυκνόπτερος?). ]ν almost certain: not ]υ (κυκνοπτέρου Barnes).

1387 Αἰθδα: Αἰθδαc codd. Simple haplography, I should presume; or e.g. Αἰθδαc κύ[κν]ον may have been written.

]ον: not ]ου, with R and the 'Moschopulean' MSS.

1388 ξεστῶν περιγᾶμων is the paradosis: in the papyrus something intervened. The traces are abraded and vestigial. Too much room for e.g. υπεργᾶμων, not enough for των. τοι (τῶ[ε]) a long shot. But whatever stood here is unlikely to improve the metrically and textually lucid ξεστῶν περιγᾶμων. P has ἐρινῶν after ξεστῶν instead of after Ἀπολλωνίων, but I cannot think that relevant for the papyrus.

1389 Απολ. ων[ιω]ν. λ is expected, but the remains are hardly compatible: the clearest trace is a short horizontal as the letter's right-hand side.

ερε[ινυν]: ἐρι- codd. Cf. [ορ]νειθο- above. Presumably -νυν not -νυν (VaAP), cf. Γανυμηδεος (-νυν- VaLP) at 1392 below.

1390 ὀττοτοποτοί: ὀττοτοί (or -τοί) codd., though the Jerusalem palimpsest had ὀττοτοτοί a.c. The papyrus' π is I presume (despite ὀπποτοί S. *Ichn.* 191) a simple miscopying of ττ. ὀττοτοτοτοί transmitted at *Ion* 790 (*L*<sup>bc</sup>, ὀτο- *L*<sup>ac</sup>), cf. *Tr.* 1287 = 1294. As often with exclamations, there is little prospect of establishing what the original was, if indeed the author made it clear. The longer form is unexceptionable both in itself and in context (certainly it is not inferior metrically: a hypodochmius or, taken in conjunction with ἐρινῶν, an iambic dimeter like the following phrase) and would suit the Phrygian's iterative habits of utterance; on the other hand longer forms are automatically suspect (cf. R. D. Dawe, *Studies on the Text of Sophocles* iii 128, J. Diggle, *Studies on the Text of Euripides* 105f.). Cf. *Tr.* loc. cit., *Andr.* 1197 = 1200, *HF* 875.

1392 ιππ[. Trema perhaps lost.

1393 The medieval manuscripts, the Jerusalem palimpsest among them, are united in giving the chorus two lines here: αεῶς λέγ' ἡμῖν αἴθ' ἕκαστα τᾶν δόμοις / τὰ γὰρ πρὶν οὐκ εὔγνωστα κυβαλοῦς ἔχω. (τᾶν δόμοις . . . εὔγνωστα om. A, evidently by homocomeson.) But of the latter, v. 1394, a scholium in M and C records οὗτος ὁ στίχος ἐν πολλοῖς ἀντιγράφοις οὐ γράφεται. So evidently the papyrus; if 1394 had entered the tradition by this date, it had not yet permeated it. But 1393 here suffers surface corruption: λεγ' is apparently represented by αεc, αυθ by λvc: λ mistaken for α and vice versa, γ for c, θ for c: all very common confusions.

1395 This, the resumption of the Phrygian's lyric, should be in eisthesis, but evidently stands in alignment with the preceding trimeter. So did the next line too, to judge by the position of the sole remaining speck.

### 3718. EURIPIDES, *Orestes AND Bacchae*

A 66 6B.3/C(1-3)c  
B 65 6B.35/C(1)a  
C 65 6B.40/D(a)

7.8 × 12.4 cm  
Fr. (b) 12.5 × 12.8 cm  
8.2 × 12.7 cm

Fifth century

Numerous remnants of at least four leaves of a papyrus codex written in a practised Byzantine uncial of the standard oval sloping type exemplified e.g. by the single find of

dramatic and Homeric manuscripts published as XI 1369-74 etc. (see 1369 intro.). Whether or not 3718 comes from the same group (apparently it does not, for two different excavation-years are represented), it is not in the same hand as the Euripidean 1370 (*Med.* and *Or.*): of the selection shown in XI pl. vii there is closest resemblance to the hand of 1369, cf. also 1373 (Turner, *GMAW* 42). The attribution is to the fifth century; on either side cf. XXVII 2459, assigned to the fourth century, and XV 1803 (Turner, *Greek Papyri* pl. v), assigned to the sixth; the Dioscorus autographs (Seider, *Pal.* ii 64) provide a sixth-century reference point. The letters are written uniformly thick, in a metallic ink; where the ink remains encrusted the colour is now dark brown, where only stain remains it is light reddish brown. The page was quite large, by calculation *c.* 20 × *c.* 35 cm (cf. Group 1 in Turner *Typology*, and for the proportions Group 5), but the spacing between lines is unusually generous, so that there were only about 29 lines to the page.

The identified remains are distributed as follows:

**A** ↓ *Or.* 1407 ff., → 1432 ff.

**B** (conjugate) → left *Ba.* 223-51, right *Or.* 1621 ff.; ↓ left *Or.* 1649 ff., right *Ba.* 194-222

**C** → *Ba.* 254 ff., ↓ 285 ff.

I presume *Orestes* preceded *Bacchae*. The alternative would mean assigning the bulk of both plays to the same quire, a loss of at least 24 sheets within sheet **B**, whereas on the assumption that *Or.* preceded we need to reckon with the loss of only two inner sheets, which will have accommodated the remainder of *Or.* (one more page, *c.* 1674-1693 = end) and the beginning of *Ba.* (seven pages, 1-193 at *c.* 28 lines/page). If there was any prefatory material to the *Ba.* text, e.g. hypothesis or list of characters, it must have been short; cf. the remarkably close succession in 1373 (*Ar. Peace* and *Knights*), where the *Knights* text was begun just five lines from the foot of the page on which the *Peace* text ended, and to judge by the evidence of fr. 2 little more than a title could have intervened. Whether **B** comes from a quire of three sheets (a *ternio*) or of more I see no way of determining, for I cannot tell whether or not leaf **C**, which directly succeeded the *Ba.* leaf of sheet **B**, came from the same quire. Similarly with **A**: the number of leaves lost between leaf **A** and the *Or.* leaf of **B** may be calculated as three (*Or.* 1432, the estimated first line of **A** back, to *Or.* 1613, the estimated first line of **B** front, = 7 pages at *c.* 26 vv./p.; this calculation uses the traditional verse numeration, with which the papyrus' colometry cannot be expected to have shown total coincidence); **A** cannot on any reconstruction belong to the same sheet as **C**; if **A**, **B**, and **C** all come from the same quire, that quire will have comprised at least seven sheets; but they may not. It is unclear whether the book was made up in such a way as to have → facing → and ↓ facing ↓, analogously with parchment codices (cf. Turner, *Typology* 66-8). That is the case with the only surviving pair of facing pages (**B** → back, **C** →), but cannot be safely assumed for the rest unless **B** and **C** do in fact come from the same quire.

The only page-numbers to survive are on the *Bacchae* leaf of **B**: pp. 198-9. The

*Bacchae* must have been the fourth or fifth play of the book, it is unclear which. The *Ba.* is fairly firmly estimated as having begun with p. 191: 190 pages at 29 lines/page (as **B** ↓ *front* and **B** → *back*) = 5510 lines: if only three plays, they must have been long ones. Since it is virtually certain that *Or.* directly preceded *Ba.*, the Byzantine triad of *Hec. Ph. Or.* might be thought of (this is apparently the order in which they occurred in the Jerusalem palimpsest), but their combined line-total is only 4754. Of course allowance must be made for the possibilities of a higher line-count due to less colometric conflation and of a lower average number of lines to the column, as well as for blank space and other material at either end of the play-texts (but cf. 1373), but even so the fit is not good. In 1370 *Or.* and *Med.* are represented, in unknown order; P. Ant. I 24 and II 73, apparently from a single codex, have remains of *Ba.* and *Med.* respectively; the earlier XLVII 3321 apparently began with *Ph.* A synthesis of these data would give the sequence *Ph. Med. Or. Ba.*, but it would probably be wrong to envisage a standard order, and there is no assurance even that the codex contained none other than 'select' plays (note especially XI 1401, BKT V 2. 84-7, and P. Amh. II 17).<sup>1</sup>

I cannot distinguish the hand responsible for the page-numbers from that responsible for the main text, but at least two further hands have been at work. Some supralinear and marginal glosses have been entered in slightly lighter brown ink by a similar but smaller and different hand. And a semi-cursive hand using black ink has interlinearly added an omitted line (*Or.* 1630); this hand seems also to have supplemented the accentuation, most of the accents and other diacritics having been written by the original scribe.

While confirming that such readings of the medieval tradition as *Or.* 1622 οὐχί, 1628 'Ορέστ', and *Ba.* 201 πατρός were well entrenched by later antiquity, the papyrus also offers a number of textual novelties. In the *Orestes* I believe the only reading of worth is the apparent ἔδρανα at 1441; cf. also 1627, and unmistakable error (uncorrected) at 1658. In the less well transmitted *Bacchae*, the papyrus supplies fresh data to old trouble-spots: 207 apparently ὡς χρῆ, 235 εὐδομος, 239 χθονός, 286 perhaps διαγέλας; cf. 257 μισθὸν φέρειν, and perhaps some difference at 213f., 250f. Beyond the addition of the inadvertently omitted *Or.* 1630 there is little textual correction: a mistaken *nota personae* at *Or.* 1621 was apparently put right (at what stage is unclear), and at *Or.* 1658, where the manuscripts are split between ὡς and φ, the former stood in the text and the latter has been entered above, presumably by collation against a different exemplar.

In addition to Murray's OCT I have referred to Jeanne Roux's edition (Paris 1970), and at the last moment have been able to consult E. C. Kopff's 1982 Teubner.

Abrasion is at places severe.

*Front* and *back* signify codicological recto and verso respectively.

<sup>1</sup> Remnants of three further Euripides codices, all three from Hermopolis, are to be published by H. Maehler in *APF* 30. The plays represented are *Bacchae* (P. Berol. 21203, vi AD), *Ph.* (P. Berol. 21207, vi AD), and, in uncertain order, *Ph.* and *Med.* (P. Berol. 17018 and others, v AD). There is slight textual overlap between P. Berol. 21203 and the present fragments.

A ↓ (*front*)

.	.	.	.
]		[	
]		[	
]		[	
]		[	
]		[	
]	εμπεριος	[	ξυνετος πολεμου φονιος τε δρακων
]		ερροι τ̄ᾱς η[	κυχου <span style="float: right;">Οτ. 1407</span>
]	].τ. .οc	προνοῑᾱς [	κακουργος ων
]		[οι] δ̄ε̄ προς [	θρονουc εcω <span style="float: right;">1408</span>
]		μ[ολ]όντ[εc	
]		[γυ]ναικ[οc	
]		. . . . [	
]		. . [	
.	.	.	.

A The probability is that the upper edge of this fragment is the upper edge of the leaf itself, in which case v. 1432 is the → page's first line, and v. 1407 will be the ↓ page's fifth. Only the textual sequence indicates which side was the front and which the back; without it, I should have taken the fragment for an outer corner, not an inner one, especially in view of its similarity in shape to C.

Where the surviving papyrus extends into the presumably written area above *ερροι κτλ*, the surface is stripped; the square brackets demarcate the area of unstripped surface. 1407 τ̄ᾱς, or τ̄ᾱc Any diacritics on ερ or η will be lost 1408 No accent on προς 1409f. [ολ], [γυ]: papyrus extant but ink wholly lost to abrasion

A → (*back*)

. . . . .  
 ]  
 ]  
 α δε λινον ηλακαται δακτυ]λοις ελιςσε 1432  
 νημα δ ιετο πεδωι ]  
 σκυλων Φρυγιων επι τυμ]β[ο]γ αγαλ  
 ματα συστολικαι χρηζουσα] λινωι 1435  
 φαρεα πορφυρε]α  
 δωρα Κλυταιμη]στρᾶι  
 προσειπε δ Ορεστ]ᾱς  
 Λακαιναν κορα]γ ὦ Διδος παῖ  
 θεσ ιχνος πεδωι δευρ]' αποστᾶσα κλιςμ[ου 1440  
 ]ο. . . ρ. . . παλ. [  
 ]' . . .

1432 No trace of diacritics above ε, but possibly lost to abrasion; similarly with the expected accents on  
 1434 αλ, 1435 λινωι 1435 Above λιν, offsets or supralineation 1439 ὦ: accent very faint, perhaps  
 illusory 1441 f. see comm.



B → front

(b) . . . . .  
 [ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . ]  
 . . . . . [ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . ] ὦ γα[ια 1621  
 ουχι [ (i) . . . . .  
 πᾶ[σαν γαρ ημων οδε βιά]ζεται [πολι  
 ζ[ην αιμα μητρο]ς μυ[ς]αρὸν [ε]ξ[ειργασμενος  
 Ἀπο<sup>λ</sup> Μεν[ελαε παυσα]ι λῆμ[<sup>φρον[η]μα</sup> εχων τεθηγμενον 1625  
 Φοῖβο[ς . . . . . (j) . . . . .  
 . . ὦ δ' ὁ ξι[φηρης τηιδ εφεδ]ρευεις κ[ορηι  
 Ορέστ' ἴν εἰ[δηις ους φερ]ων ἦκω λόγ[ους  
 Ἐλενην μ[εν ην συ διο]λ[έ]σαι πρ[ό]θυμος [ων  
 ημαρτες οργην ἄ[νελεωι π]ορουμενος  
 ἦδ' [εστι]ν, ἦ[ν ορατ εν αι]θέρ[ο]ς πτύχαις 1631  
 ξεξω[ςμενη τε κου θ]ανῶσα προς κέθεν.  
 . . . . . ] . . . φαργάγου  
 (g). . . . .  
 τρ[υ σου κελευθεις ηρπας' εκ Δι]ὸς πατρὸς.  
 [ . . . . . ] χρ[εών] 1635

1620, 1621 *margin*, see comm. 1623 *á*, accent visible ]ζ, ξ not excluded 1624 ζ[, there is  
 no sort of indication of what letter followed 1626 Any accent on *oc* will be lost 1627 Above  
 ]*ρευει*, traces of interlineation 1628 *iv*, apostrophe perhaps lost ]*ων*, some supralineation above  
 ν ἦκω, breathing possibly lost 1629 Ἐ, breathing doubtful λεν, accent lost, ν blotted [έ], [ό],  
 accents visible 1631 ἦ[ν, breathing doubtful, accent possibly lost 1635 ὶν], accent visible

fr. (b) and (g) straddle the central fold, the line of which is marked by heavy ink traces; I cannot clearly discern binding holes. fr. (g) continues to the foot of the page, but only on the opposite leaf; it is broken at the central fold.

Or. 1621 stands opposite *Ba.* 230 on the left-hand leaf (B → *back*), and that leaf begins with *Ba.* 223. The number of lines lost above *Or.* 1621 may thus be estimated at about eight. This is in conformity with the calculation similarly performed for the ↓ side, which is reckoned to have begun at *c.* 1544. On this reckoning the present page will have had *c.* 31 lines, *Or. c.* 1613-*c.* 1643, though at least one of these, 1630, is an inter-linear insertion and the possibility of further discrepancies must be allowed for.

B ↓ *back*

(b) . . . . .  
 ]  
 μητροκτονο]ν  
 (i) . . . . . δικ]ης βραβεῖς 1650  
 πα]γορίζιν [εν Αρειοικιν ευεβεστιά]την  
 ψῆ]φον διόζ[ο]ν[ε] εἰ[θα νικησαι σε χρή].  
 εφ ηι δ εχεις] Ορέε[τα φαγανον δερηι]  
 γη]μαι π[επρωται ε' Ερμιονην ο]ς δ' οίεται  
 Ν]εοπτόλε[μος γαμειν νιν ου γ]αμεί ποτε· 1655  
 ] θ[αν]εῖν γὰρ αυ[τωι μοιρα Δε]λφικῶι ξίφει  
 ] δίκ[α] Αχιλλέ[ως πατρος] εξαιτῶντά με.  
 ]. Πυλάδη' δ' αδε[λφης λεκτ]ρον [ώ]ς ποτ' ἐπήγεσας  
 ]. ὁ δ' ἐπιών ν[ιν βιοτος ευδαιμω]ν μένει·  
 . . . . . ] . . . . . 1660  
 (g) . . . . .  
 ] . . . . .  
 . . . . .

1651 ά], 1652 ψῆ], χρή], accents visible 1657 τά, not τί 1659 ], .', see comm. δ', δε (or δέ) not excluded μένει, for the diacritics see comm.

*Or.* 1650 stands directly opposite *Ba.* 201 on the right-hand leaf, and that leaf begins with *Ba.* 194. The number of lines lost above *Or.* 1649 may therefore be estimated fairly firmly at 6, or perhaps rather 5, since the interlinear spacing is here somewhat more generous.

fr. (b) and (g) continue across to the opposite leaf.

B ↓ front

	(a)	
		$\overline{\rho\rho\eta}$
		ηγη]εται.
		χο]ρεύομεν
		άλλοι κακ]ῶς
(b)	.	Ba. 195
	ι[δου	
	ου [	
Τει	ουδ[ενοφίζομεθα	200
	πατρὸς π[αραδοχας	
	κεκτῆμε[θ	(c).
	ουδ' ει δι [ακρων το σοφον ευ]ρηται φ[ρενων	
	ερεί τις ω[ς το γηρας ουκ αις]χύνομ[αι	
	μέλλων χορ[ευειν κρατα κ]ιςζώσα[ς	(d).
	ου γὰρ διήρη[χ	205
	ως χρῆ χορ[ευειν	
(e)	αλλ ε]ξ απα[ντων	
	κοι]νας διαρ[ιθμων δ ουδεν αυξεσθαι θέ]λει.	
	επει] ζῷ φέχ[γος	210
	εγω] π]ρόφ[ητης	
(g)	]. . . . . [	
	ω . . . [	
	[]. . . [	
	ε̄κδημ]ος ωγ [	215
	κλύω δε νε̄σ[χμα	
	γυναικα[ς	(h)
	πλα[[ι]ςταί[ςι βακχ]ειαιςι[ν	
	όρξειν θο[αζειν το]ν ν[ε]ω[ςτι	

The placement of fr. (d), all but blank on the → side, is not guaranteed, but receives some support from fibre correspondences. Placement of fr. (e) was impeded by the fact that effectively the only line usable for identification purposes is ]μαμ χθρ[ν- on the → side, now identified as v. 239 (λήψομαι ετέγης codd.); but once made, the placement is in no doubt.

195f. Final stops perhaps lost to abrasion; similarly, loss of papyrus or of ink may have removed diacritics from 204 τις ως, 207 ω, 208 απα, 209 νας, 216 δε, 218 χει, 221 δε, με 196 Accent of άλλοι visible 209 θέ], accent visible 212-14, see comm. 215 εκδημ], papyrus extant but ink almost wholly lost to abrasion

Διόνυσον ο[στις ε]στι [τει]μώ[σα  
 πλήρη[ις] δ[ε θιακοις εν] με[σοισιν  
 κρατηρας α[λλην δ αλ]λ[ο]ς' [ 220

B → back

(a)  $\overline{\rho\rho}$ .  
 ] φε, γωει πτώξεου[σαν  
 πρόφασιν [ 225  
 τ[ην δ Αφροδιτην

(b) . . . .  
 ] λέγω 230

(c) . . . .  
 ε] <sup>λημασι</sup>  $\overline{\nu}$  αρκουειν

(d) . . . .  
 ] [ παυσ]ω κακο[υργου τησδε βακ]χείας τάχα.  
 ] [ λεγου]σι δ' ὡς τ[ις εισεληλυθε ξέ]νος  
 ] [ γοης ε] <sup>φαρμακι</sup> πῶδο[ς Λυδιας απο χθο]νός  
 ] [ ξανθο]ί[σι βοστρυχοισιν ευο]δμο. κόμην 235  
 ] . . . [ Αφ]ροδίτης έχων  
 ] [ (e) c]  $\overline{\nu}$ γγιν[εται  
 ] [ νε]ανίσι[ν [ 240  
 ] [ ληψο]μαι χθο[νος  
 ] [ ] ανας[ειοντα τε 240  
 . . . . (f) κομ[αc τραχηλον σωματος] <sup>(g)</sup>χωρις τεμ[ων  
 εκείνος ειναι φησι Διονυ]ον θεξον  
 ] . . . .  
 κεραυ]νίαις.  
 ] . . . . 245

On the placement of fr. (d) and (e), see on B ↓ front. The placement of fr. (f), blank on the ↓ side, cannot be regarded as certain.

Upper marg., ., compatible with θ, see comm. 233 ε], accent visible 235 ., see comm. 237 γν, accent will be lost, ν not ει nor ιγ 241 κομ[, accent will be lost. Below, a circumflex accent in position suitable for εκείνος (or εκείνου), 242 ini. 241 ff. Flaking and abrasion have removed most of the surface, so that identification is often uncertain or impossible; absence of diacritics from the transcript is not to be taken as implying that they were not once present 243 Διοc unverifiable 245 Minimal traces quite unassignable

(h) ]... αξια  
 υβρει υβριζ]ξιγ δς[τις εστι]γ δ ξε[νος  
 ]....[ ].....  
 ]....[ ].....  
 ]. [ ].. γέλωτ 250  
 ? πατερα τε μ]ητρ[ο]ς [ c. 11 ]νομα πατερ

246 See comm. 248f. Scant traces, unassignable 250 πολ]ον not excluded 251 See comm.

*Remaining Fragments of B*

(k) A largish fragment, 14 × 10 cm, from an upper, apparently outer corner, which at first sight looks as if it comes from the *Orestes* leaf of **B**, corresponding to the smaller fr. (a) of the *Bacchae* leaf opposite. Abrasion and damage have put the text beyond recovery. On the → side (*front*, if the corner is an outer one) there are traces of perhaps four lines, but not a single letter is legible. On the ↓ side, remains of four line beginnings, and a marginal note by the lost fifth line; I cannot make out the note, and the only letter of the text that can be certainly read is ο, preceded perhaps by ι, in l. 2, about the 18th letter. Apparent traces above the text on either side, if not illusory, may be the page-numbers. I cannot reconcile the ↓ traces to the text of *Or.* 1644 ff. or vicinity; I have tried matching them with the given text at other possible places on the hypothesis that the fragment comes from a different leaf, but without success.

(l)-(o) Four scraps with illegible textual remains.

(p), (q) Two scraps blank or virtually blank on both sides.

(r) A thick squarish piece, 7.5 × 6 cm, with what appears to be decoration on the → side, blank on the ↓: a cover leaf?

C → ( <i>front</i> )		C ↓ ( <i>back</i> )
· · · ] ] ] πατε]ρ· ] ] ] ] ] ] μ]ιθὸν φέρειν· .. εξερρουετ]ο· δεσμ]ιτος μέσαις γυ]ναιξὶ γαρ 260 γ]άνος· <small>πομα</small> ο]ργίων[·] ]]	255	[ [ [ [ [ [ ὡςτε δι[α 285 καὶ δι[... ] μηρῶ διδ[αξω επει νιν ] Ζευσ ... ] Ἡρά ν[ιν 290 · · · · ·

If the last line of **B** ↓ *front* was v. 251, as seems to have been the case, the first of the present page was presumably v. 252. That is consistent with the external indications, for then the upper edge of the present fragment, broken though it is, will be the upper edge of the leaf itself, and roughly on a level with the upper edge of **B**. *ᾠστε* (285) on the ↓ side is on the same level as *φέρειν* (257) on the →, so the ↓ text may be presumed to have begun with v. 281; and the **C** → page will then have had 29 lines (252–80), if there was no discrepancy in the verse-count.

**A** ↓ *Or.* 1406 *margin.* *ἔμπερος*. The reading, not assured in itself, is confirmed by the marginal note found in **M** and **B**, *ἀντί τοῦ ἔμπερος τοῦ πολέμου*. But no transmissional connection need be inferred.

1407b *margin.* **HMTB** carry a variety of exegeses (for those in **H** see S. G. Daitz, *The Scholia in the Jerusalem Palimpsest of Euripides*), but **I** cannot recover what the papyrus offered.

1408 ff. The transmitted text and colometry (at least in both **H** and **M**: **I** have not checked the others) is of δὲ πρὸς θρόνου ἕω μολόντες | ἄς ἔγημ' ὁ τοξότης Πάρις | γυναικός, ὄμμα δακρύοις πεφυρμένοι, ταπεινοὶ | ἔξονθ', κτλ. The papyrus is badly abraded. μ[ολ]όντ[ε]ς is not assured but fits very well, whereas ἄς (or ἦς) ἔγημ' is certainly not to be read; evidently the papyrus did not share the inferior colometry of the medieval manuscripts. γυναικός at the beginning of the next line cannot be verified, but suits the scanty traces. The last two lines are more problematic. If *πρὸς* and *ἔξονθ'* are to be recognized, it seems they were indented by about one letter's width; but the decipherment is quite uncertain.

**A** → 1432 Apparently *ἔλιεε*, not *-εν*, but *-εε'* i.e. *-εε(ν)* cannot be excluded. **Di Benedetto** reports *ἔλιεεν* for **H**, *ἔλιεε* for the rest.

1433 No telling precisely what stood in the papyrus.

1437 *Κλυταιμνή*] not excluded.

1438 *προεῖπε*, as *codd.* (and *Schol. Od.* 5. 878), seems more suitable to the space than *-εν*.

1441 f. The transmitted text is *Πέλοπος ἐπὶ προπάτορος ἔδραν παλαιᾶς* | *ἔστιας, ἔν' εἰδῆς λόγους ἐμούς*. In the papyrus the remains of 1441 accommodate themselves well enough to this text except in one particular: between *ἔδραν* and *παλαιᾶς*, if they are to be recognized, a letter intervened, which could be read as *α*, *ε*, *ο*, or *ς*; there is no sign of cancellation. Thus a possible restoration is *Πέλοπος ἐπὶ προπάτορος ἔδρανα παλαιᾶς*, and it may be suggested that *ἔδρανα*, giving a wholly resolved dimeter in synphœia (**I** see no reason to interfere with the given colometry, incidentally), is in fact the truth. Corruption to *ἔδραν* would be easy. While at *Tr.* 539 *ἔδρανα* has successfully resisted, at *Tr.* 1078 *ἔδρανον* has become *ἔδραν* in **P**.

For 1442, *εστιας ἠ' εἰδησις λόγους ἐμούς* followed by a low stop is acceptable. Black ink at upper right seems to be casual, perhaps offset.

**B** → *Front*

1620f. The 1621 marginal note has been crossed out. Correction of a mistaken *nota personæ* is an obvious guess, and a cancelled *Ἀπολλ'*, with perhaps *Μενέ'* written in replacement above, makes an acceptable though uncertain interpretation. **I** should have expected to see a paragraphus, but do not.

At the beginning of 1620 it is difficult to identify the textual traces and to distinguish them from those of the marginal note and the cancellation. *Π[υλάδης]* (1620) is certainly not suggested, but **I** cannot say it is excluded; and neither *ἐχ[εε]* (1617) nor *αλ[λ']* (1618) is particularly suggested either.

1622 *οὐχί* with the MSS. The accent, perhaps not by the original scribe, is clear.

1627 *κύθ' ὅς ξιφήρης κτλ* is the transmitted text. In the papyrus *κύθ'* is acceptable, but there seems to be more ink to the left, which **I** cannot explain (an indication of the textual error or discrepancy?). The accent is clear. So is *δ*, with nothing above; what follows looks more like a heavy middle stop than an apostrophe, but *δ'* is represented in just the same way at 1631 below and at *Ba.* 233. Above *οξί[ι]* the papyrus is broken, and anything to the right of the traces which **I** have taken for a breathing will be lost; so there is no telling whether sigma was added. Apparently, then, we have two new readings here: *κύθ'*, and *ὁ ξιφήρης*. (In fact, **Dr Diggle** has now found *δ'* in **ZdKRw**.) The first is surely inferior (it is a constant confusion, of course), the second is probably a mere slip (we are not free to postulate *ἔφεδρεύων*—**I** take it that the supralineation above *ἔφεδ]ρευει* was just a gloss thereon—and there is little to commend e.g. *ὄς γ'* for *τῆιδ'*).

1628 *'Ορέετ'* with the MSS: *'Ορέεθ'* edd.

1630 The omission was evidently inadvertent, due perhaps to the homoeoarchon *ή-*.

1631 f. The papyrus is now the oldest witness to these two suspect verses.

1631 *εστι]ν, ἦ]ν*: not a comma but a diastole.

*πτύχαις*. The accents are faded and damaged; one of them—the circumflex?—may have been cancelled. *πτύχαις* is reported here for B: *πτύχαις* MVCO: *πτυχαίς* rell. The accentual vagary will be due to the word's heteroclitite declension; *πτυχας* is regularly given 3rd-decl. accentuation in the manuscripts (even at S. fr. 144 *ΤῆΓΓ*, where *πτυχάς* is metrically requisite), and this often spills over on to *πτύχαις*. See Diggle on *Phaethon* 174.

1633 Before *φασγάνου* the MSS present variously *κ' ὑπό*, *καὶ ὑπό*, and *κάπο*. The papyrus is damaged, and only slight traces remain: *κ*̄*α*πο is possible; not *ὑπο* or *ὑπο*.

B ↓ *back* 1650 *βραβεῖς*. *βραβῆς* cannot be quite excluded, but *ει* seems the better decipherment, written as in 1659 *μενει*.

1652 *supralin*. *π(αρά) Ἄρει* would suit; not *Ἀθηνᾶ*, for the letter after *α* has an oblique descender. Implying that Ares presided? Cf. Schol. TA on 1651, . . . *ἐδίκασαν δὲ Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ἄρης*.

1658 Apparently *ώς* was originally written (the breathing is visible; no accent was written); the supralinear *ι*, written perhaps by the hand that added v. 1630, registers *δι*. The MSS are split: *ώς* ALO (*δ*c Monac. 560), *ψ* MBP (*δ* V).

{*ἐπ*}*ήνεσας*: the more explicit compound has replaced the poetic simplex.

1659 The initial traces could suit ]*έ* or even ]*έ*, consistent with *δός*, as transmitted, since in this codex accents are habitually set over the letter to the right of the one properly accented; the accent is clear. The scribe set the line out: presumably because the previous line had extended dangerously close to the central fold (whose position is indicated now by ink-markings and symmetrical hole-patterns). I do not know whether what was written in the margin of the line above—of which the only substantial trace remaining is a thick vertical—has any connection with this. For the next line, to judge by the position of the accents, the scribe reverted to the old alignment.

*μένει*. The diacritics are faded and abraded, but it looks as if the acute was crossed out: i.e. *μένει a.c.*, with L and Cod. Thess., *μενεί β.c.*, with the rest.

1660 *Ἄργου* *δ' Ὀ*] *ρέ[στην κτλ* is indicated.

1661 f. *χθ*] *ων[δ]ε* is acceptable (so accented); and the accent below will be that of *μυρίοις*.

B ↓ *front*. Ba. 200 I would suppose *οὐδὲν σοφ.*, as LP (*οὐδ' ἔνσοφ*. Musgrave), but there is no telling, as above and to the right of the lower left-hand corner of the supposed *δ* (*κ* is excluded) the papyrus is broken away.

201 *πατρὸς* in accord with LP (*πρς* L, as regularly): *πατρίους* is restored by edd. from Plu. *Mor.* 756 b.

203 *ἄκρας* . . . *φρενός*, as Plutarch loc. cit., cannot be excluded.

207 Apparently *ώς χρῆ*: *εἰ χρῆ* LP. LP's text of 206 f. is *οὐ γὰρ διήρηχ' ὁ θεὸς εἶτε τὸν νέον | εἰ χρῆ χορεύει εἶτε τὸν γεραίτερον*. This is accepted by some editors (e.g. Grégoire, Roux) but usually emended either by changing the *εἶτε* to *οὔτε* or by replacing *εἰ χρῆ* with *χρηῖζει* or *χρεῖν*. The papyrus' *ώς χρῆ*, presumably a final clause, seems to me less acceptable than would *ώς χρῆ*.

209 *διαρρηθῶν*. There is no trace of an apostrophe after *δι*, and the spacing suggests there never was. *διαρρηθῶν*, Heath's rearticulation of LP's *δι' ἀριθμῶν*, is therefore implied.

212-14 Nearly all the surface has flaked off. There is nevertheless a difficulty in the way of restoration of the transmitted text, which runs: (212) *Πενθεὺς πρὸς οἴκου* *δδε διὰ σπουδῆς περᾶ*, | (213) *Ἐχίονος παῖς*, *ψ* *κράτος δίδωμι γῆς*. | (214) *ώς ἐπτόηται* *τί ποτ' ἐρεῖ νεώτερον*; The remains of 212 accommodate themselves well to the expected *Πενθεὺς π[ρ]ος*, but the initial traces of 213 are all but impossible to reconcile with *Ἐχίονος*: *ω* is the natural interpretation. The other traces of 213 and 214 are so slight as to be useless. If *ω* is in fact what is written, I see two main possibilities: (1) this line is v. 214; in that case we must reckon either with transposition of 213 and 214 (textually unacceptable) or with the absence of 213 (arguably an interpolation) and a plus-verse 214a; (2) it is an alternative version of v. 213, e.g. *δι γῆς κράτος δίδωμι, παῖς Ἐχίονος*. On present evidence more can hardly be said.

216 *νέα* glosses *νεοχμιά*.

219 *όρεων*: *όρεσι* LP, q. leg. The *ν* may possibly have been cancelled.

220 [*τει*] *μώ[σας* (i.e. *τι-*): or *ε]στι[ν τι]-*.

B → *back*. Page-number *ρρθ*, 199. *θ* mostly destroyed, restored on the basis of *ρρη* on the ↓ side.

223 *marg.* *φεύγωσι*, it would seem, but I cannot explain it. *φεύγονταν* might be intelligible as a gloss (or variant) for *πτύσσουσταν*, but is not what was written.

225 *supralin*. Perhaps a gloss, *κ[ούτην vel sim]*.

Evidently, and unsurprisingly, 229 f. were in the text by the fifth century.

231 ]λημασι *supralin.* More likely to be a variant than a gloss (it seems to scan, and if gloss why not δικτούσις?)? Nothing obvious: περιβ]λήμασι (metrically unacceptable), με]λήμασι (imagistically unacceptable)?

233 ὤς τ[ις: δέτις LP, P. Berol. 21203. The necessary ὤς τις was already restored by John Gregoropoulos (not Musurus: M. Sicherl, *RM* 118 (1975) 205–25) in the Aldine; the Berlin papyrus shows that δέτις was in the text by the 6th c.

234 *supralin.* ἔμπειρος] φαρμάκ[ων *vel sim.*, cf. Schol. NB in ἐπωδός καὶ γόης *Hirrh.* 1038, ἀπατεῶν, φαρμάκων ἔμπειρος.

235 εὔο]δμος: εὔοσιμον LP. The traces of the final letter are truly minimal, but the amount of space between ο and κ well suits σ, and there is certainly not room enough for ν. The papyrus' reading accords with Brunck's conjecture, εὔοσιμος, and is, I should suppose, to be preferred to more refined emendations (εὔοσιμῶν Tyrrell, εὔοσιμοις κομιῶν Badham, εὔοσιμον κομιῶν Dodds, this last accepted by both Roux and Kopff). The Attic -σμο- would have been expected, see Barrett in *Hirrh.* 1391 (Addenda); but -δμο- is not without claim to consideration; the manuscripts of Xenophon uniformly present -σμο-, though we happen to know he wrote -δμο- (*Phryn. Ecl.* 71, where see Rutherford).

236 *marg.* Abraded beyond hope of recovery; e.g. ὀφθαλ]μοῖς would be possible.

239 χθρ[νός: στέγης LP. χθονός is a distinct improvement to the sense (*pace* Roux), and could be regarded as the true text. On that view, however, στέγης is difficult to account for, and it may be preferable to see the two readings as independent deformations of an original ληψόμεθα γῆς (coni. Norwood), λήψομαι χθονός being a deliberate elimination of the plural.

246 ] . . . αξία. Of the final alpha only a trace of the lower left remains; there is a hole in the papyrus. ο rather than α is not excluded, but any subsequent letter (ἀξιον, ἄξιος coni. quidam) would be expected to have left traces of its presence. Before αξία the surface has mostly gone; what little is left does not exclude the transmitted ἐστ'; hardly επ (ἐπάξια coni. Elmsley).

251 The transmitted text of 249–52 is ἐν ποικίλαισι νεβρίαι Τειρεσίαν δρώ | πατέρα τε μητρὸς τῆς ἐμῆς, πολὺν γέλων, | νάρθηκι βακχεύοντ'. ἀναίνομαι πάτερ | τὸ γῆρας ὑμῶν εἰσορῶν νοῦν οὐχ ἔχον. The papyrus' text is beyond recovery, but I cannot reconcile the remains of the last line of fr. (h) with the expected νάρθηκι βακχεύοντ' (251), whereas they well suit πατέρα τε μητρὸς (250). The position of fr. (h) relative to fr. (g), which gives the line-ends, is not in doubt, being fixed in the first instance by the textual fit for *Ba.* 218 on the ↓ side and confirmed by fibre correspondences, so that I feel some assurance in stating that what I have transcribed as μ]ητρ[ο]ς was not in alignment with γέλων but seems to have stood one line lower. The verses could, I dare say, be rewritten so as to transfer μητρὸς to 251, but not attractively, and when the physical damage is so extensive it would be foolhardy to do more than record the apparent anomaly.

Verse 251 was apparently the last line of the page. Verse 222 on the ↓ side is at the same level.

C → 257 μ]ισθὸν φέρειν: μισθοὺς φέρων (corr. in φέρειν *l*) codd. [So Murray and Roux: Kopff reports P's reading as φέρειν.] φέρειν not yet corrupted. As between μισθόν and μισθοὺς, the plural seems preferable to me.

I do not know what to make of the marginal note. Hardly υς, indicating μισθοὺς, which in any case would not be so economically expressed.

261 *marg.* πόμα is perhaps to be considered a *v.l.* rather than a gloss. But πόμα does not belong to classical Attic: it tends to displace πῶμα even in defiance of metre (*E. Cyc.* 123, 139, *Hirrh.* 209, 227) and is attested in no place in Euripides where πῶμα cannot be substituted; as here it cannot. I do not think this makes any contribution to the question of the authenticity of the verse. If the verse is genuine, πόμα cannot be accepted; it will owe its presence to adduction of 279, βότρυος ὑγρὸν πόμα. If it is spurious, πόμα has as good a claim as γάνος: an import from 279 (cf. *Cyc.* 419), just as γάνος from 383 (cf. *Cyc.* 415); but the *El. Mag.*, s.v. Γανυμήδης, quotes the verse with γάνος.

C ↓ 286 The text may have been διαγε[λάς: καταγελάς codd. Above ι is an apostrophe-like mark of unobvious signification, and at some distance to the right is another apparently supralinear trace; κατα was apparently not written, either here or in the left margin. As between διαγελάς and καταγελάς, the former, also at 272 and 322, is the easier reading, and perhaps on that account to be rejected; καταγελάς with acc. is adequately justified by Dodds.

289 After Ζευς, which may have lost an acute to abrasion, damage precludes identification. Expected is ἐς δ' (or εἰς δ'), as codd., preceded by a stop. That is not particularly suggested by the remaining traces, but is perhaps not excluded.



290 Definitely an acute not a breathing on the eta, though a preceding breathing may have been lost. The accent on the alpha, though now very faint, is undoubtedly present; for such accentuation of paroxytonics before an enclitic see Laum, *Das alex. Akzentuationssystem* 241 f., and cf. XLIV 3152 (E. Hipp.) 375.

3719. EURIPIDES, *Iphigenia in Aulis* 913-18

49 5B.99/C(1-3)b

4 × 10 cm

Third century

A few line-ends, together with a *nota personae* from the next column, in an angular sloping script of familiar type belonging more probably to the third than the second century. The trimeters (917 ff.) were evidently indented in relation to the preceding trochaic tetrameters. There is a (marginal?) cursive note of obscure import below v. 918, at the point where Achilles' reply to Clytemnestra's appeal should begin; much of this speech is considered interpolated by some scholars, but I do not know if the note has any bearing on that. If it is assumed (a) that the *nota personae* Κλυτ' stands by v. 977, and (b) that Achilles' speech was as long in the papyrus as it is in LP, there will have been just over 50 lines to the column: unusually many, though not enough to invalidate the latter assumption. Back blank.

Other *IA* papyri: P. Leiden inv. 510 (*CRAI* 1973, 292-302; lyric extracts), P. Köln II 67.

	. . .	
	εισο]ρας γυ[νη	
	κα]κοις θρασυ [	
915	] συ μου	[
	σεως]μεθα	[
	φιλτρο]ν μεγα	[
	τ]εκνων	[
	]ολειτρο. [.]. . . . . τε[	
	]. . .	[
	]	[
	]	[
	]	[
	]	[
	] κλυτ[	977?
	]	[
	]	[
	] [	
	. . .	

919 The note stands on the same level as the expected line of text, and its extant part begins just about at the point where v. 919 would be expected to end. Similarly below, the lines of text would be expected to extend up to just about the point where the papyrus survives—if not beyond: but no textual inference can be built on this. The note may be merely a gloss on Achilles' opening line, v. 919, ὑψηλόφρων μοι θυμὸς αἴρεται πρόσω, but it is somewhat abraded and I cannot make it out (not e.g. φλορεῖται at the beginning). It may continue on the following line, since there appear to be traces of ink there too.

3720. LIFE OF AESOP  
(ADDENDUM TO 3331)

Plate XI

28 4B.62/A(1)

19 × 32 cm

Third century

Another, more substantial piece of the same manuscript from which came XLVII 3331. The text is written across the fibres, apparently on the back of a roll, but the front is blank except for two mutually isolated scrawls which I cannot decipher, possibly Latin. 3720 gives the full height of two consecutive columns of 57 and 58 lines respectively, each 28 cm deep and c. 10 cm across. Upper margin at least 3 cm, lower at least 2.5. Similarly tall columns on roll backs are III 454 (Plato, *Gorg.*, Turner, *GMAW* 62) and VI 852 (Eur. *Hyps.*, *GMAW* 31).

The portion now represented, §§ 107-111 Perry, belongs to the section of the Life in which Aesop is in the service of the king of Babylon—a section transferred to Aesop *en bloc* from the Assyrian Book of Ahiqar.<sup>1</sup> Aesop, the king's διοικητής and problem-solver, is falsely accused of treason by his adopted son and condemned to death, but is secretly saved from execution (cf. the situation in the prosimetric narrative of P. Turner 8). When next the king has an insoluble ζήτημα posed him by the king of Egypt, Aesop is revealed as being still alive—it is at this point that 3720 commences—and having delivered a lengthy homily to his adopted son (§§ 109-10) who thereupon dies, proceeds to save the situation.

The Ahiqar story is set in an earlier epoch, in the time of Sennacherib or Esarhaddon, and has undergone a number of surface transformations in its grafting on to Aesop. Ahiqar is simply displaced by Aesop (and thus, unlike Ninus, loses his Assyrian identity). Other adjustments are the identification of the king of Babylon as Lycorus,<sup>2</sup> and that of the king of Egypt as Nectanebo. The choice of Nectanebo, the last native Pharaoh, is natural enough, given his cultural significance as reflected e.g. in the Alexander Romance (see M. Pieper in *RE Nektanebos*; M. Braun, *History and Romance in Graeco-Oriental Literature* 19-25, imagines a Nectanebo Romance: the 'Dream of Nectanebus', Pack<sup>2</sup> 2476, may in fact be considered such). That he is discomfited by

<sup>1</sup> Ahiqar has been found apparently listed as *ummānu* under Esarhaddon in a cuneiform tablet of the Seleucid period from Uruk (J. van Dijk in *XVIII. Vorläufiger Bericht . . . Ausgraben in Uruk-Warka, Winter 1959/60* (Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, Abhandlungen 7, Berlin 1962), 43-53, esp. 45 ll. 19f.; J. C. Greenfield, *Hommages à André Dupont-Sommer* (Paris 1971) 49f.; cf. E. Reiner, *Orientalia* ns 30 (1961) 1-11; H. L. Ginsberg in *ANET*<sup>2</sup> 427). Thus he at least is a historical figure.

<sup>2</sup> Not Lycurgus: 3720 joins P. Berol. inv. 11628 in calling him Λύκωρος. See further on 21.

Aesop is no indication of anti-Egyptian sentiment on the part of the dominant Greek-speaking sector of the population: it is just that the Greek—more strictly, Phrygian—has stepped into the shoes of the Assyrian. In any case I see no argument here (*pace* Rose, *CR* NS 3 (1953) 154, and La Penna, *Athenaeum* 40 (1962) 271 f.) against Perry's inherently plausible opinion that this part of the Aesop Life originated in Egypt. Lycorus king of Babylon is an infinitely less familiar figure, and I do not know what basis he may have in history.

The earliest extant version of the Ahiqar story is the fragmentary Aramaic one found among the documents of the Jewish mercenaries at Elephantine (E. Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus einer jüdischen Militärkolonie zu Elephantine* (Leipzig 1911), Papp. 49-59, cf. pref. xx-xxiii; A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century BC* (Oxford 1923) 204-48; J. M. Lindenberger, 'The Aramaic Proverbs of Ahiqar' (Diss. Johns Hopkins Univ., 1974)). The story became widely diffused, and versions exist in many languages, principally Syriac, Arabic, and Armenian (F. C. Conybeare, J. Rendel Harris, A. Smith Lewis, *The Story of Ahiqar* [Cambridge 1898 21913], *idd.* in R. H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* [Oxford 1913] ii 715-77). In all versions but the Aramaic, Ahiqar delivers two speeches to his adoptive son: one at the outset of the story, the 'Proverbs', a conventional piece of wisdom literature, the other at the end, the 'Parables' (it consists mainly of similitudes, 'My son, thou art like . . .'), in reprehension of his protégé's ingratitude. In the Aesop Life the two are collapsed into one. Structurally Aesop's speech is the equivalent of the second of Ahiqar's (except in that it comes before, not after, the trip to Egypt) and it has the same mortifying effect on the young man, but in content it corresponds more to the first, consisting as it does of a disconnected series of precepts, with little or no bearing on the current situation. In the Elephantine papyrus the narrative survives only as far as the false report of Ahiqar's death (Papp. 49-52, apparently consecutive); and Ahiqar has no extended address to his adoptive son down to that point. (It is true that P. Grelot, *Documents araméens d'Égypte* (Paris 1972), 427-52, puts the sayings towards the beginning of the narrative, interposing them between col. i and col. ii [of Sachau's Pap. 49]; but these are two physically consecutive columns!) The rest of the Elephantine fragments (Papp. 53-9), of unfixed order and location, are all taken up with the sayings of Ahiqar. Their place (or places) in the narrative is unclear, except in so far as they do not occupy the position occupied by the proverbs in the Syriac etc.; most probably, I think, they will have constituted a single speech and have preceded the Egyptian episode (of which there is no trace in the Elephantine fragments: but it is an integral part of the tale).

The Elephantine version of the Ahiqar story, which is much the earliest and possibly in the original language, thus appears to have an affinity with the Aesop Life's form of the narrative, at least in that each of them lacks an initial wisdom-speech. Assuming the Elephantine version to be faithful to the original form of the tale, Cowley (209f.) envisages a single collection of sayings that was later divided into the two sets that we find in the other Ahiqar versions. Perry's view (*Aesopica* i, pref. 5-10) is rather that it is

the later versions that preserve the pristine form, while the Aramaic and the Greek together represent an aberrant form of the story that was current in Egypt. Affinity with the Elephantine version may not be quite so close or so significant as Perry supposes, but there are certainly structural inconcinnities in the Aesop version, and it may be agreed that however matters may stand with the Elephantine text the narrative as given in the Aesop Life, with its single set of injunctions, is a deformation of an original Ahiqar narrative in which Ahiqar had two discrete speeches, each appropriate in its place. This is not to say that either speech originated in the Ahiqar tale itself; their relative contextual freedom suggests otherwise.

In the Aesop Life, as Perry trenchantly points out (pref. 9f.), the adoptive son's death immediately after the speech is inadequately motivated; but I would suppose this to be due to elimination of vindictiveness from the Ahiqar role as being out of keeping with the character of Aesop. The match between the two, while close enough to enable the transfer of the story from the one to the other, was not perfect. It is in line with this that Aesop, unlike Ahiqar, had prevailed on the king to spare the young man's life.

The story seems to have been popular indeed in Roman Egypt. There are four previously known papyri of the Aesop Life (P. Berol. inv. 11628, PSI II 156, P. Oxy. XVII 2083, and P. Ross. Geog. I 18, for all of which see Perry, *Studies in the Text History of the Life and Fables of Aesop* (APA Philological Monographs 7, 1936), 27-70), and 3331 + 3720 joins not only them but also two demotic papyri of the Ahiqar tale: Pap. Cairo s.n. (*JEA* 16 (1930) 3f., identified by Spiegelberg, *OLZ* 33 (1930) 961) and Pap. Berlin P 23729 (*Verzeichnis d. or. Hss. in Deutschland*, Suppl. 19 (1976) 181-5); though presumably Ahiqar in demotic travelled quite independently of the Greek appropriation of the story for Aesop.<sup>1</sup>

Two complete versions of the Aesop Life are extant: one in the tenth-century codex G (Pierpont Morgan Library MS 397), unknown before 1952, the other in the manuscripts of the so-called Westermann recension, *W* (MRLWV, SBP). Among the latter, the group SBP is contaminated—or rather enriched—with material evidently drawn from some other source; and an important accession to this group is the early eleventh-century codex Th, a single leaf with parts of §§ 110-11, published by Perry in *Byz. Zeit.* 59 (1966) 285-90. For §§ 109-10, Aesop's paraenesis, we have yet another version in the extract of Cod. Vindobonensis theol. gr. 128. All these texts, with the exception of the more recently discovered fragment Th, are published by Perry in his *Aesopica* i (1952). But the text of Cod. G hereabouts happens to be extraordinarily corrupt and lacunose, so that Perry relegates its text of §§ 109-10 to a footnote, n. 551.

For a detailed account of the textual history of the Life see Perry, *TAPA* 64 (1933) 198-244, *Aesopica* i 1-32, *Byz. Zeit.* loc. cit. In one point Perry's account may be

<sup>1</sup> The Romanian and Slavonic versions of the Ahiqar tale may be presumed to have come via Greek, but no non-Aesopic Greek version of the story is found, nor may the earlier existence of one be inferred from the fact that Ahiqar was apparently known, as an Assyrian wise man, in classical Greece. A modern Greek version is reported, however (F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, *Die aramäische Sprache unter den Achaimeniden* i 183).

questioned. Differences from G and from *W* appear variously in the papyrus, in SBP(Th), and in Cod. Vind. All these are attributed by Perry to a common source, which he terms  $\pi$ , supposedly a single version of the Life current in the second century. But the hypothesis of a unitary source for all the various non-G*W* witnesses is hardly in keeping with the realities of textual transmission as evidenced by the papyri, and receives specific confutation in the discrepancies between the present papyrus and the Vienna codex.

While the papyrus is generally closer to G than to the *W* tradition (see e.g. 1, 2-4, 12-14, 106), it not infrequently agrees with the *W* tradition against G (e.g. 1-2 κληθῆναι, 4 ἐδάκρυεν, 8f. ὑπὲρ ὧν κατηγορήσεν αὐτοῦ ὁ Αἴνος, 112 πρὸς τὸ ἐκείνων βούλημα). Perhaps rather more in the *W* recension is inherited than might have been thought, and correspondingly less to be assigned to later rewriting. At 10 there is an agreement with SBP against all the other witnesses: this in conformity with Perry's recognition that SBP, while basically *W* manuscripts, occasionally draw on another source. And at 19 an apparent tense-agreement with MW shows that M may preserve original *W* readings against R, as well as confirming the independent value of the pure (non-SBP) *W* tradition.

But often the papyrus stands alone. It is more distant both from G and from *W* than they are from each other. Its narrative is rarely shorter, and sometimes gives circumstantial detail not to be found in G or *W* (e.g. the phrases at 8 and 22). For all the suspicion that properly attaches to longer texts in general (especially perhaps in the case of a popular quasi-biographical work of no fixed constitution, cf. the Gospels), the papyrus' text gives little impression of having been padded; rather, the versions of G and *W* appear abridged in relation to 3720, much as *W* is itself abridged in relation to G.

In §§ 109-110, Aesop's speech to his adoptive son,<sup>1</sup> the differences among the various versions are greater, and the Vienna codex comes into play. The bulk of the speech consists of a more or less inconsequent succession of general precepts: over and above the usual textual variabilities are more substantive discrepancies. In addition the text of G is horribly mutilated, and *W* has been invaded by gnomic monostichoi.<sup>2</sup> Cod. Vind. has some precepts of which there is no trace in G (those corresponding to the papyrus' ll. 45f., 84-7, 90-2, 95-7), and G has some which Cod. Vind. does not (~ pap. 50-6, 62f., 63-5); *W*, once purged of its interpolations, has none which is not at least partially represented in either G or Cod. Vind. All the precepts variously represented in

<sup>1</sup> The name, which probably occurred in the papyrus at l. 9 (cf. fr. 2. 6) but is too damaged to read, is uncertain: *Αἴνος W*, *Αἴνος* Cod. Vind., *Ἥλιος* G. Perry takes *Αἴνος* to be in error for *Αἴνος*: perhaps the reverse? In view of the latent rivalry between Aesop and Apollo that may be detected in the Life, Linus may be no less suitable a name for Aesop's son than Aenus. As for G's Helios, it is preferred by Adrados (*Historia de la fábula greco-latina* i 678, cf. id., *Quad. Urb.* ns 1 (1979) 103), while La Penna suggests (*Athenaeum* 40 (1962) 267) that 'Sun' may have been substituted for 'Fable' by an oriental redactor; it seems to me more likely to be merely a corruption (from *ΑΙΝΟC* via *ΑΙΗΟC*?). In Ahlqar he is Nadan or Nadin.

<sup>2</sup> S. Jäkel, *Menandri Sententiae* (Teubner 1974), prints the whole of the *W* version of Aesop's speech as App. 13. But the trimeters need to be separated out from the prose in which they are embedded.

the medieval witnesses (*W*'s presumed interpolations apart) are present in the papyrus, though not always in just the same form. Evidently material has independently dropped out of Cod. Vind. and of *G*. (The alternative would be to suppose that the papyrus and either *G* or Cod. Vind. together represent an interpolated tradition, but I take the papyrus version to be fundamentally sincere.) Further: the papyrus gives more complete versions of some precepts carried only imperfectly in the sum of the other texts, and in addition carries a couple not found in them at all: 46-50, 60-2. As to the wording of material carried in common, the papyrus stands perhaps closer to the text which underlies *G* than to Cod. Vind., though the condition of *G*'s text makes it difficult to speak with any precision and certainly the papyrus shows several agreements with Cod. Vind. against *G*. And *W* and SBP(Th) are shown to be not quite negligible even where Cod. Vind. is extant. (La Penna, art. cit. 268, holds it is *W*'s version of the speech that is closest to the original, and Cod. Vind.'s the most distant, but there seems to me nothing to favour this view, and much against it.) But as a rule the papyrus' phrasing is not identical with that of any of the other versions; it is superior much more often than not, I would say.

For all the irrelevance of the majority of the precepts to their context in the story, it does look as if in the papyrus there was greater circumstantial cohesion between the speech and its surroundings than is to be found in the other versions, and it is all the more unfortunate that ll. 28-30 and 100f., either side of the speech, are too badly damaged to admit of secure restoration. And the speech itself seems to have opened in appreciably more consequent fashion, to the extent that ll. 31-42 can be seen to have been, at least in origin, a logically connected series of sentences founded on the young man's ungrateful behaviour; though here again the damage is an impediment.

In the corresponding speech of Aesop, Ahiqar's utterances have been almost wholly replaced. (Even within the Ahiqar tradition itself there is very little correspondence between the sayings preserved in the Elephantine papyrus and those of the other versions, and much discrepancy among the latter.) One clear remnant, preserved by Cod. Vind. as well as the papyrus, is the injunction to forget anything heard *ἐν βασιλικῇ ἀβλῆ* (45f., where see n.); this is the first of Ahiqar's sayings in his first speech. The succeeding sentence(s) in the papyrus may possibly continue this, but I do not find it in any of the extant Ahiqar versions. The only other carry-over that I can firmly identify, one that has survived in all versions of the Aesop speech (pap., Cod. Vind., *G*, *W*), is the injunction to be affable (82-4, ~ Ahiqar Syriac A 2. 38 = Syriac B 2. 5): a dog's tail gets him bread, his mouth gets him blows. This too comes from the first of Ahiqar's speeches, not the second. I find no detail in the fragments of the sayings of Ahiqar in the Aramaic papyrus in common with anything in Aesop's speech. (It might be possible to argue that Aesop's answer to one of Nectanebo's questions later on [§ 115], comparing him to the sun, is drawn from Ahiqar's 'Glorious is a king to see, like Shamash', l. 108 Cowley = prov. 26 Grelot, but I should doubt there is anything in this. See also on 75-9.) There may be points of contact with the Ahiqar sayings that I have not detected,

but if so they are no more prominent in the papyrus' version of the speech than in the later manuscripts' versions.

The mediievally transmitted texts of this section of the Life (except for Th, see above) are to be found in Perry, *Aesopica* i 68-70 (G and Cod. Vind.) and 101-2 (*W*), with a collation of the *W* MSS (incl. SBP) at 191-5.

A recent discussion of the Aesop Life is by F. R. Adrados, *Historia de la fábula greco-latina* i 661-98, cf. id., *Quad. Urb. NS I* (1979) 93-114.

There is a certain amount in common between the precepts of Aesop and those of

fr. 1

col. i

]. επι . . λε . . . . . εκελε[. ] . ε . α . . ονκλη  
 ]αραγενο. ε[. . . ] . . εαυτογκομω . . . και  
 ]. ον . . . κα . . υπω . . . διατηνπο . . χρονιον  
 ]χ. ναπο . . ρα . . . [ . . ] ασιλε . . δα . . υσενκα .  
 5 ]. θε . . αυτ . . . . . [ . . ] α[ . . . . ] . α[ . . . . ] . . εκ[ . . ] μην . [ .  
 ]αμενον[ . . ] . ε . . . [ . . ] . [ . . ] ας[ . . . . . ] . [ . . ] . πο . [ .  
 ]οσαν . [ . . ] π . . . . . νοςη . [ . . ] . . τροτονβα[ .  
 ]εαφ[ . . ] λ . . τεα[ . . ] . . υσαπ . λοχ[ . . ] . . . . . ρων[ .  
 ]. . . . [ . . ] . [ . . ] ναυτ . . [ . . ] . [ . . ] . [ . . ] κ . . τηνα . ηθιανεπι . [ .  
 10 ]θε[ . . ] ν[ . . ] ννε . . [ . . ] . . ν . . . . . λεινωσεςβηκοτα  
 ]ιςπατε . αδικαι . . οδ . [ . . ] σω . . . . . ονοκρεαση  
 ]. . [ . . ] στεθ . . [ . . ] εξ . ιπαρακαλυμματηςαισχ  
 ]η[ . . . . ] . . γατο . ζ . νταδεειναιτροπαιο . τησ  
 ]δ . [ . . . . . ] δη[ . . ] . ως[ . . ] . νχωρησασουνοβασιλευσ  
 15 ]τ[ . . . . . ] . ητ . α . σωπωπο . . ιοθελισλαβων  
 ]δε . [ . . ] . π[ . . ] . οληντρουτων . [ . . ] . [ . . ] . ιωνβασι  
 ]. ω . ι . να . νουδε . . [ . . ] . ποσκαιεπι . γουσ  
 ]τ . . . . . ειδιασα . εφηαντιγραφογαυτω . . ν  
 ]. . . . . εγσοιτ . νοικοδομησ[ . . ] ντατονπυρ  
 20 ]. . . . . οκριθησο . ενονταεπερωτωμε  
 ]. . [ . . ] . ι . . νπαρελθηταυταακουσασολυκω  
 ]. . . . . τησασαυτροντονοροναπεπεμφεν  
 ]ο . . . . ρε . βειστ . τωναιγυπτωνβασιλει  
 ]. . . . . π . σθηλεησενπροσνεκτανεβωνεκε  
 25 ]. αυτωδοθηναιτηγκτησινηγεξαρχησ





- ]. [ . . ] δεδ[ . . ] κητηναυτο. [ . . ] τρεστηκεντον  
 ] . . κ. [ . . ] οναυτωπαρεδωκενοδεαισωπος  
 ] . ν. [ . . ] εαυ . . . τοννα . . . ονουδεναυ  
 ] . ον[ . . ] ενε . . δειξα . . α . . . . . λοχωναυ  
 30 ] . . [ . . . . ] . ν . . στ . νμελ . οντανουθηετωγα .  
 ] . . ακουσοντωνεμωγλο . . ν . .  
 ] . νκαιπροτερονπαιδευθεισου  
 ] . . ασαπεδω . ασουγαρεπι . αυτας  
 35 ] . [ . . . ] θ . ε . ασεπαιδευσααλλιναγενα . ε  
 ] . . λ . . . . προ . σεφυσικηι[ . . ] . ις . φυλα  
 ] α[ . . ] . ηρεν[ . . ] ειειστομε . . νονυφυλας  
 ] . μο . . . παρα . αταθη . ηνπρωτον  
 ] . σεβον . ασιλ . αφ . . [ . . . . ] . αρ . . . . τουν  
 ] τ[ . . ] . . . . ο . η . . μεν[ . . ] ε[ . . ] τεργειν  
 40 ] τ . . . . μενγα . αν[ . . ] . π . 6 ] ποιειν  
 ] ντωδεεκ . ρο . ιρε . [ . . ] . 5 ] . . . . . ιδι  
 ] οδ . . . . να . δειταεχαρ . [ . . ] . τηνκαθημε  
 ] . . . χρης . μη . . . μ . [ . . ] εωσανδυνη  
 ] . ναυ . ι . . ορεκτικ[ . . ] . εροσησκαιου  
 45 ] . . νβ . . . . . ικηαυλ . . ανακουσης  
 ] τ . [ . . ] . [ . . ] . [ . . ] σεενταχειαποθανησεις  
 ] . [ . . ] . . [ . . ] ρενομενοςκατωκ[ ρ ] υπτε  
 ] ρ . καιγαρϋπ . . χουσιναυτησα . [ . . ]  
 ] . . . ύψηλο . ερουσεχουσινδι . [ . . ]  
 50 ] καταβαλλουσιντοισεχθροι .  
 ] . ποιει . . μησουκαταφρονω . ιν  
 ] . [ . . ] αιμεταδοτικονιναεγνοι  
 ] . . . . ονταιτους . . εχθρουσειν  
 ] . [ . . ] . 5 ] . [ . . ] . [ . . ] . νε . . . . . νακαταπαρτα  
 55 ] ω[ . . ] . [ . . ] . . [ . . ] . [ . . ] λογσεουσωφρον . ν . . . . ς  
 ] η . . [ . . ] . 9 ] . λο . ωηβ . ωτη . [ . . . . ] .  
 ] . . . . . ει . . . . . [ . . ] .

- c. 7 ]. [ . . ] δὲ δ[ι]οικητὴν αὐτὸν [κ]ατέστησεν τὸν  
 c. 8 ]. . κ. [ . . ] οἷον αὐτῷ παρέδωκεν. ὁ δὲ Αἴσωπος  
 c. 9 ]. ν. [ . . ] εαυτοῦ. τὸν νεανίσκον οὐδεν αὐ-  
 c. 8 ]. οἷον [ . . ] ενε. . δειξα. . α. . . . . λόγων αὐ-  
 30 c. 7 ]. . [ . . . . ] ν. . στ. ν μέλλοντα νοουθετῶν ἀρ-  
 ξάμενος οὕτως· ‘ἐπάκουσον τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων, τέ-  
 κνον Αἴνε, δι’] ὧν καὶ πρότερον παιδευθεὶς οὐ  
 δικαίας χάρι]τας ἀπέδωκας· οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ ταύτας  
 c. 7 ]. [ . . ] θρέψας ἐπαίδευσα, ἀλλ’ ἵνα γενάμε-  
 35 c. 10 ]. . λ. . . . προ. ρεφυσικη[ι]. [ . ] ις. . φυλα-  
 c. 8 ] α[ι]. [ . . ] ηςεν[ . . ] ε. εἰς τὸ μέλλον οὐδὲν φύλας-  
 σε τοὺς λόγους] μου ὡς παρακαταθήκην. πρῶτον  
 μὲν πάντων θεῶ]ν ἐβου, βασιλέα φοβ[οῦ· τὸ] γὰρ κρατοῦν  
 ἰσόθεόν ἐστιν.] τ[ὸ]ν υἱοποιησάμεν[ον δ]ε[ι]ς[ι]ς] τέργειν  
 40 c. 12 τού]τρου μὲν γὰρ ἀν[άγκη εἶ]ποιεῖν  
 διὰ τὴν φύ]σιν, τῷ δὲ ἐκ προαιρέ]σεως στ]έργοντι δι-  
 πλασίους ἀ]ποιδιδόναι δεῖ τὰς χάρι]τα]ς. τὴν καθημε-  
 ρινὴν τρο]φήν χρησίμη]ν λάμβ[αν]ε ὡς ἂν δύνῃ,  
 ἵνα καὶ εἰς τ]ῆν αὔριον ὀρεκτικ[ώ]τερος ᾖ καὶ οὐ-  
 45 τως ὑ]γαίνη]ς. ἐν βασιλικῇ αὐλῇ ἐὰν ἀκούσης  
 τι, ἐναποθανέ]τω [ς]ο[ι], μ[ὴ] σὺ ἐν τάχει ἀποθάνης. εἰς  
 c. 12 ]. [ . . ] . [ . . ] ρεζόμενος κάτω κ[α]ρ[υ]ύπτει  
 c. 13 ]ρ. καὶ γὰρ ὑ]πάρχουσιν αὐτῆ]σα. [ . . ]  
 c. 13 ]. . . ὑψηλοτέρους ἔ]χουσιν δι. [ . . ]  
 50 c. 15 ] καταβάλλουσιν. τοῖς ἐ]χθροῖς  
 σου δεινὸν ἐ]αυτὸ]ν ποίει, ἵνα μὴ σου καταφρονῶσιν·  
 τοῖς δὲ φί]λοις πρᾶ]ο[ν κ]αὶ μεταδοτικόν, ἵνα εὐνοϊ-  
 κώτεροί σοι c. 4 ]. . . . ονται. τοὺς δὲ ἐ]χθροὺς εὐ-  
 χου c. 3? ]. [ c. 5 ] κ[α]ί [π]ένεσθαι, ἵνα κατὰ πάντα  
 55 c. 6? ]ω[ι]. [ . . ] τ]ρὸς [δ]ὲ φί]λους σου σφρονοῦντας  
 c. 6? ]η. . [ c. 9 ] ἢ λόγῳ ἢ βί]ω. τῇ χ[υ]να]ι-  
 κί σου χρηστὰ ὀμί]λει,] ὅπως πείρα]ν ἀλλ[ο]ν

col. ii

ανδρος, ηθελης, . αβεινκ[.], φο. . [   
 , τον, ενορρεστιγκε, . λακευμενο, [   
 60 ουφρογιαμαρτανε, [. ]τουςτ. ο. . . . [   
 πλει, ωφελειιναμ, . ακει, ο. . [ ] θ. [   
 ζορσινφθογορφευγεπισταμ, . ος[   
 ροαναταγω, ιστηναυτονρσουε[.]να, [   
 ταυψηλαοικοδομο, ντασαπο. . . ιδ[   
 65 μηματωνκαταβα, λετοι, προ. . . . [   
 ζετησγλωσση, ενρυνωμηφ, [. . . .] . . [   
 μενοσπαιανακα, . ο, γαρς, φιζο. . [   
 λασθ, ρεταιτοιρξευπ, ατ' του, ιμ, φ, [   
 συνχαιρεκαιμεθεξεξειραυτωντη[.]ε, [   
 70 φθονων, . . [.]ωναυτ[.]νβλαπτειτ, [   
 σουεπιμε, [.], . ετα, . δουσαυτ, [.], . . [   
 . να, . [.] . ν. . ρ. [. . .] ντρεπω, τα, [   
 . . ]ερ, [.], . . [.] . [.] μωσινθυμο, . . [.] α. . . [   
 . ]μα, . . μα, . α, . [.] μηρσιχν, . . . [   
 75 οψιμα[. . ]νημααθηγκαλει, θα[. . ]η, [   
 κρυπτωνκ, . αφορρητωνμ, [   
 τογαρ[.], ν[.] καντιπαλογπρο, [   
 οληνη, ρτηνημερανοπλιζε, . . [. . .]. [   
 νηωρσουκ, ρι, . ρητογκαθ, . . [.] . [   
 80 προστολαμβ[.] νιςμεγαλλακα, [   
 . ησαυρι, εβ, . . . [.] . . . ε, τ, . . [   
 ηφ, . . ν, πενδεα, θ, . . ευεντ[   
 νουτ[. . . .] ναντωρι, ρι, . δ, [   
 αρτο, [. . .] . . [ ] τοδε, τ, . α, [   
 85 . . . α[ c. 9 ], επι, [. ] η, [   
 τα, . . [ c. 7 ] οσαφ, [. . .] . . η[   
 μεν, . [ c. 4 ], . ν, η, . . [.] μη[. . . .] . . [   
 τους, . [ c. 4 ], . . λλο, . . [.] . ν, [ c. 5 ], [   
 ταμ[ ] . [ c. 8 ], . ι, ρ, [ ] . . [ ] ο, . να[

col. ii

- ἄνδρὸς μὴ θελήσῃ λαβεῖν· κ[ο]ῦφον γ[ὰρ  
 . τον γένος ἔστί, κεκολακευμένον [δὲ  
 60 οὐ φρονεῖ ἁμαρτάνει[ν]. τουστ. ο. . . . [   
 πλεῖν ὠφέλει, ἵνα μὴ κακεῖ. ο. . . . ] . θ. [   
 ζουσι. φθόνον φεύγε, ἐπιστάμενος [ἰσχυρότε-   
 ρον ἀνταγωνιστὴν αὐτὸν σοῦ ἐ[ἶ]ναι. [   
 τα ὑψηλὰ οἰκοδομοῦντας ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδ[ οἰκοδο-   
 65 μημάτων κατάβαλλε. τοῖς προ. . . . [ βάδι-   
 ζε τῆς γλώσσης. ἐν οἴῳ μὴ φι[λολό]γε[ι ἐπιδεικνύ-   
 μενος παι<δ<ε]αν· ἀκαίρος γὰρ σοφίζόμε[νός τις καταγε-   
 λασθήσεται. τοῖς εὖ πράττουσι μὴ φθ[όνει ἀλλὰ καὶ   
 κύνχαιρε, καὶ μεθέξεις αὐτῶν τῆ[ς] εὐ[πραξίας· ὁ γὰρ   
 70 φθονῶν ἀγν[ο]ῶν αὐτ[ὸ]ν βλάπτει. τῶ[ν] δούλων   
 σου ἐπιμελ[ο]ῦ, μεταδιδούς αὐτο[ῖ]ς ἀ[φ' ὧν ἔχεις,   
 ἵνα μὴ [ὧ]ς κύριόν [σε ἐ]ντρέπωνται, [ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς   
 εὐ]εργ[έ]την [τ]ε[ι]μῶσιν. θυμοῦ κ[ρ]άτε[ι. ἐάν τι παρη-   
 75 κ]μακῶς μανθάνη[ς], μὴ αἰσχυρῆ[ς· βέλτιον γὰρ   
 ὀψιμα[θῆ]ν ἢ ἀμαθῆν καλεῖσθαι[ι. τ]ῆ γ[υ]ναικί σου   
 κρυπτῶν καὶ ἀπορρήτων μη[δὲν δῆλον τίθει·   
 τὸ γὰρ [γ]έν[ο]ς ἀντίπαλον πρὸς [τὴν συμβίωσίν] ἔστιν·   
 ὄλην γὰρ τὴν ἡμέραν ὀπλίζεται [καθ]η[μένη, μηχανωμέ-   
 80 νη ὡς σοῦ κυριεύει. τὸν καθημ[ε]ρ[ινὸν βίον ζῆτει   
 πρὸς τὸ λαμβ[α]νισμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ [εἰς τὴν αὔριον ἀπο-   
 θησαύριζε· βέλτι[ο]ν γὰρ ἔστιν [ἐχθροῖς καταλιπεῖν   
 ἢ φίλων ἐπειθεασθαι. εὐέντ[ευκτος καὶ κοινὸς γί-   
 νου τ[οῖς] σ[υ]ναντῶσί σοι, εἰδῶ[ς ὅτι καὶ τῷ κυνὶ ἢ οὐρᾶ   
 ἄρτον [πορ]ίζε[ι], τὸ δὲ στόμα π[ληγᾶς. ἐπὶ σωφροσύνη   
 85 μεγα[λοφρόνει, μ]ὴ ἐπὶ χ[ρ]ήμ[ασι·   
 τα. . . . καιρ]ὸς ἀφε[ίλε]το, ἢ [δὲ ἀπόρθητος δια-   
 μένει. [ἐάν ε]ὐτυχήσῃ[ς], μὴ [μνη]σ[ακ]ήσῃ   
 τοὺς ἐχ[θροῦ]ς, μᾶλλον δ[ὲ] αὐτ[οὺς εὖ] π[οίει, ἵνα με-   
 ταμ[έ]λ[ωνται . . . ] . ι. ο. [ . . . ] οἶον ἄ[νδρα

110

67 l. ἀκαίρως  
ἐπι- vel ἐνδέεσθαι

69 l. κύχαιρε

73 l. τιμῶσιν

75 l. ὀψιμαθῆ, ἀμαθῆ

82 l. ἐπει- vel

- 90 *καγα* [ *c. 12* ] *ιζ.ς. . [ . ] . ημε[ . ] . [*  
*πι. δ[ c. 10 ] . . . οστ[ . ] . υ. [*  
*πα. . . ονι. η. . [ . ] . υρον. . . . [ . . . . [*  
*ειρων. υσαμ[ . ] υ. . προςκα. . . . [ . ] β. . [*  
*γαρε. ε[ . ] ενε. . . [ . ] ω. αυτω. . . . . [*  
95 *τομε. . . [ . ] . λεγομεναετερο[ . ] αν. θ. [*  
*μεγαληκτησηειμηχ. ιρεμ. δ. [ . ] π. . [*  
*πουταυταε. πω. οα. . . . ρς. . ωρ. [*  
*λυπουμενοςεπιτωηδικη. ε. [*  
*μεμα. τ[ . ] . . . [ . ] αιαπ[ . ] αρτ. ρη. [ . . . ] ον. [*  
100 *τηλλαξενοδοαιςω. . .ς. . [ . . ] . [ . . . . ] . [*  
*κησας. [ . ] . π. ωσαυτονεκπ[*  
*επενθ[ . ] . . [ . . ] . . δε[ . ] . υτα[ . . . . . ] . [*  
*. . ευτα. εκελ. υσενσυ. [ . . . . . ] . α[ . ] α[*  
*σφης. [ ] δετοπροσταχθε. [ . ] . [ . ] . [ . ] c[*  
105 *δετουτροσσαιςωπο. ετε. [ . ] . ναυ[ . . ] υ[*  
*ταπτεραδιωνδ. κουςιγωκ. . . τει. εμ[*  
*εκελευσεναν. . υσουτωτρ[ . ] φεσθαικ. . . [*  
*υ. υεπανωεαυτωνπαιδαςβασταζε[*  
*μενοιδετελειοικα[ . ] τουςπαιδαςηδη. [*  
110 *ζοντεςανιπταντροεπιψηλουτουαε. [*  
*λιγονδεδεμενοιενκαλωπηκροριγαρ. . [*  
*παισιν. αιπροστοεκεινωνβουληματ[ ] η. [*  
*εινεποι. υν. ορονναιςωπος. ποτ. ξα. [*  
*λυκωρωε. λ[ . ] υσενεια[ . . ] . . . υσυντ. [*  
115 *καιτριςπαι. [ . ] . καιμεταπολλης. . [ . ] α. [*

90 *σανα[ c. 12 ]ιζ. ζ. . [.] μὴ μέ[λ]λ[ε, ἀλλὰ κο-  
 πία δ[ιδούς, ἐπιστά]μενος τ[ήν] τύχ[ην μὴ οὔσαν  
 παραμονίμην. ψ[ί]θυρον καὶ δ[ι]άβρολ[ον ἄνδρα  
 εἰρωνευσάμ[ε]νον πρὸς καιρὸν ἔ[κ]βαλ[λε· οὐ  
 γὰρ ἔνε[κ]εν εὐνο[ίας], ὡσαύτως γὰρ τὰ ὑ[πὸ σοῦ πρατ-  
 95 τόμενα κ[α]ὶ λεγόμενα ἑτέρο[ις] ἀναθή[σεται. ἐπὶ  
 μεγάλη κτήσει μὴ χαίρει, μηδὲ [έ]πι μ[ικρῶ] λυ-  
 ποῦ.” ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὁ Αἴσωπος ἔχωρί[σθη. ὁ δὲ Αἴνος  
 λυπούμενος ἐπὶ τῷ ἡδικηκέν[αι καὶ διὰ λόγων  
 μεμαστ[ει]γῶς[θ]αι, ἀπ[οκ]αρτερήσ[α]ς τ[ὸν β]ίον με-  
 100 τήλλαξεν. ὁ δὲ Αἴσωπος . . [ . . ]. [ . . . . ]. [ . . . . ]  
 κήσας λ[α]μπρῶς αὐτὸν ἐκπ[  
 επένθ[η]ςεν. [με]τὰ δὲ [τ]αῦτα [προσκ]α[λεσάμενος  
 ἱξεντὰς ἐκέλευσεν συν[ληφθῆ]γα[ι] ἄ[ε]των δ̄ νεοσ-  
 105 ούς· ο[ί] δὲ τὸ προσταχθὲν [έ]π[ο]ί[η]ς[αν. λαβῶν  
 δὲ τούτους ὁ Αἴσωπος ἔτει[λ]εν αὐ[τῶ]ν [τὰ ἔσχα-  
 τα πτερά, δι’ ὧν δοκοῦσιν ὠκνηρετεῖς εἶν[αι, καὶ  
 ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς οὔτω τρέ[φε]σθαι καὶ μ[ανθά-  
 νειν ἐπάνω ἑαυτῶν παῖδας βασιτάζε[ιν. γενό-  
 110 μενοι δὲ τέλειοι κα[ὶ] τοὺς παῖδας ἥδη β[ασιτά-  
 ζοντες ἀνίπταντο ἐπὶ ὑψηλοῦ τοῦ ἀέρ[ος ὁ-  
 λίγον δεδεμένοι ἐν κάλω· ὑπήκοοι γὰρ ἦς[αν τοῖς  
 παισὶν καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐκείνων βούλημα τη. [  
 σιν ἐποιούντο. ὁ οὖν Αἴσωπος ἀποταξάμ[ενος τῷ  
 115 Λυκώρῳ ἔπλ[ε]υσεν εἰς Α[ἴ]γυπτον σὺν το[ίς] ἀετοῖς  
 καὶ τοῖς παισ[ίν] καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς πα[ρ]α[κ]ευῆς*

111

99 l. μεμαστιγῶσθαι

103 l. συλληφθῆναι

105 l. ἔτιλεν

“ . . . I will call you [Hermippus] my saviour.” He [King Lycorus] ordered him [Aesop] to be summoned. On his arrival, long-haired, dishevelled(?) and filthy on account of his lengthy confinement, the king turned and wept, and for shame (?) (told) him to wipe out (?) . . . and after having a wash (?) then to make his greeting. Aesop after refreshing himself (?) made his greeting to the king and after giving him a kiss began to defend himself against the accusations that Aenus (*or* Linus) had made against him; and (the king), recognizing the truth, wanted to kill the young man as one who had acted impiously against a righteous father. But Aesop prevented him, saying that a dead man would have death as a cloak for his shame, whereas a living man was the trophy of his own conscience. So the king, agreeing that he should live, said to Aesop, “Do what you wish. Take and read this letter from the king of Egypt.” When Aesop had read it and recognized the puzzle he laughed and said, “Write him this in reply: ‘I shall send you one who will build the tower and answer the questions when winter is past.’” On hearing this Lycorus, without asking him the meaning, immediately(?) dispatched his ambassadors to the king of Egypt in accordance with Aesop’s wishes, to Nectanebo. And he gave orders for his original property to be given (back) to him, made him Grand Vizier (again) and committed (Aenus) into his hands. Aesop, taking the young man to himself once again (?), did him no (violence?) but showed him (?) (the error of his ways?) in words (?), admonishing him with a view to the future (?), beginning as follows:

“Hearken to my words, my son Aenus (*or* Linus)—words through which you were educated before, but failed to return due thanks. For it was not for these (thanks?) that I raised you and educated you, but so that . . . So for the future keep my words safe like property in trust. First of all revere God, fear king; for power is godlike. One should love an adoptive father (like natural parents); for the benevolence of the latter is a necessity of nature, but to him who loves by choice one should pay thanks twofold. Take your daily sustenance as useful as you can, so that you may have more appetite the next day and so be healthy. If you hear anything in the royal court, let it die within you, lest *you* quickly die. As you go on your way(?) to . . . , bend low . . . ; for . . . have higher . . . throw down. To your enemies be dire, so that they may not condemn you; to your friends be mild and generous, so that they may grow to be better disposed to you. Pray that your enemies live in sickness and poverty, so that they may be altogether powerless; pray that your friends lead a life of sobriety, for they will benefit you either by word or by conduct. Deal kindly with your wife, so that she may not want to try out another man; for woman is fickle (and capricious), and when flattered is not minded to go wrong; and treat your servants even better(?), in case they too run off to those who will not punish them(?). Avoid Envy, in the knowledge that he is a stronger opponent than you; (do not?) throw down those who dwell in the heights from their own dwellings. Go more sharply(?) with your feet(?) than your tongue. Do not philologize when in wine, showing off education; for when one is clever out of season one will be laughed to scorn. Do not be envious of the successful but join them in their joy, and you will share in their success; for the jealous man unwittingly does harm to himself. Look after your slaves, giving them a share in what you have, so that they may not respect you as their lord and master but honour you as their benefactor. Control anger. If you learn something when you are past your prime, do not be ashamed; for it is better to be called a late learner than an ignoramus. Reveal to your wife nothing that is secret and not to be spoken of; for woman is antagonistic to an equal partnership, for she sits the whole day long making plans, machinating how to gain mastery over you. Seek your day-to-day livelihood with a view to what is being got(?), but also lay up in store for the morrow; for it is better to leave it to enemies than to go in want of friends. Be affable and open to those who meet you, knowing that even for a dog his tail gets him food, his mouth a beating. Be proud of decency, not of possessions; for possessions the appointed time(?) takes away, but decency endures safe from destruction. If you meet with success, do not bear grudges against your enemies, but rather do good to them, so that they may repent when they know what sort of a man they wronged. When you are in a position to exercise compassion do not hesitate, but tire yourself out with giving, in the knowledge that fortune is not lasting. A back-biting and slanderous man when he dissimulates(?) throw out in good time; for (he behaves as he does) not for the sake of good will, for in just the same way he will communicate your doings and sayings to others. Do not rejoice over great possession, nor grieve over little.” With these words Aesop departed. Aenus (?Linus), in grief at having done wrong and at having received a tongue-lashing, starved himself to death. Aesop, (not expecting this?), gave him an illustrious burial after he had passed away (?) and mourned him.

After this he summoned fowlers and told them to catch four eagle nestlings; and they carried out his instruction. Aesop took them and plucked out the wing-tip feathers, which seem to give them swiftness of flight, and gave orders that they should so be reared and should learn to carry boys on top of themselves. When they were fullgrown and now capable of carrying the boys they started flying high in the sky lightly

reined on a rope, for they obeyed the boys and flew in accordance with their will. So Aesop took his leave of Lycorus and sailed to Egypt with the eagles and the boys and with a great deal of equipment . . .'

1-2 Possibly <καί> before ἐκέλε[υ]εν (not -ce δ'), an easy loss after -μαι. ἐκέλευεν with G and SBP (cf. προσκαλεσάμενος 102), κληθῆναι with W.

2-4 Closely similar to G. παραγενομένου with W against G's παραγεναμένου, but hardly significant, cf. γενάμε[νος] at 34 below. (Similarly παραγενάμενος with G at P. Berol. 11628. 36 will not be significant, pace Perry, *Studies* 58; the same fluctuation in c.g. the a recension of the Alexander Romance [Kroll, pref. v] and in the life of Secundus.)

At the beginning of 3, not -ώντος or -όντος. κατω]χροντος (for -ώντος, cf. e.g. G's κοπιόντων in 17, or ειγόμενος in 23) might fit. So would e.g. καλε]ύοντος, χωλε]ύοντος, but what is wanted, I suppose, is another word describing his appearance of bodily disrepair—a scene which the Book of Ahiqar presents more picturesquely, Ahiqar's fingernails having grown like eagle's talons (Ahiqar 5. 11).

ἐδάκρυεν with W.

5-7 A wash and brush-up is enjoined (cf. Ahiqar 5. 12-14). But the papyrus evidently differed quite widely from both G and W, which differ in turn from each other.

5 ] . θειc. The doubtful letter suggests ε or c. A participle in -cθεις seems indicated, e.g. ὀργυθεις, αιδεcθεις (cf. the Syriac and Armenian versions, Ahiqar 5. 12). Then, αὐτόν not excluded. Towards the end of the line ἐκ[ε]μῆν seems to fit the context better than other possibilities. Somewhere ἐκέλευεν or equivalent must be lurking. ἐκ[ε]λέυ[ε]c would be a forced reading after αὐτόν, but I cannot find anything better. What will have gone with ἐκ[ε]μῆν I am not sure; the words before it I cannot recover; ]ρν would be a possible decipherment of the immediately preceding traces.

At the end of 6 [ὁ δὲ] Α[ἴ]ωπος offers itself: the beginning of §108. Working back from there, ἀ[ε]π[α]ρ[ε]σ[θ]αι (cf. G) can be recovered with some probability. For 5-6, perhaps ἐκ[ε]μῆν κ[α]ὶ λουc]άμενον (λουc. with W). What intervened between λουc]άμενον and ἀ[ε]π[α]ρ[ε]σ[θ]αι is strictly beyond recovery; [ἐ]π[ε]c]τ[α] possible (not πάλω or the like). A maximally reconstructed text of 5-6, then, would run:

αἰδε]cθεις αὐτόν . . . ]α[ . . . ] . α[ . . . ]ρν ἐκ[ε]μῆν κ[α]ὶ  
λουc]άμενον [ἐ]π[ε]c]τ[α] ἀ[ε]π[α]ρ[ε]σ[θ]αι. ὁ δὲ] Α[ἴ]ωπος

Between [ὁ δὲ] Α[ἴ]ωπος (6) and ἤc[ε]π[α]ρ[ε]c (7), if these two restorations are right, we look for something corresponding to εἰc εαυτόν καταcτάc (W), εἰc εαυτόν ἀποκαταcταθειc ἐλθών (G). Presumably one or the other -oc in 7 is a participle ending; χενόμειρος (or χενόμειρος) would be consistent with the traces, but unverifiable, and before it, ἀνθ[ρ]ωπος is a possibility, though not the only one. Something on the lines of ὡc | καυ]δεc ἀνθ[ρ]ωπος γενόμενος, if that is not too English an idiom?

8 φ[ί]λημ[α] τε α[ὐ]τῶ δούc. A guess, without counterpart in G or W, and abraded beyond possibility of verification. The need for a connective between ἤc[ε]π[α]ρ[ε]c and ἀπελογ[ε]c]ε]τ[ρ]ο is met by the τε, and the suggested reading, of which the initial φ is reasonably assured, seems to fit both sense and space. The king kisses Ahiqar on his first appearance in the Arabic version (Ahiqar 5. 12).

8-9 ἀπελογ[ε]c]ε]τ[ρ]ο with G, but ὑπέρ ὧν κτλ with W. No mention here of the adoptive relationship, found in both G and W. The reading of the name—though there seems little doubt that the name did stand here (as in W, not in G)—is uncertain, virtually all but the c having disappeared; Αἴωc (W), Αἴωc (Cod. Vind.'s form of the name) both possible, Τίλιoc (G's form) probably not.

9-10 τῆν ἀλήθειαν looks like an affinity with G, καὶ τῆν ἀλήθειαν μεθ' ὅρκου παρεcτήcατο (sc. Aesop), to which W has no counterpart. But I cannot accommodate any such asseveration in the papyrus. By l. 10 the subject seems to have changed to the king (11 ὁ δὲ] Α[ἴ]ωπος κτλ), whether or not ἡ]θ[ε]c]λ]εν is a correct restoration. ἐπιχ]νοῦc is a consequent guess. But unless I have got the construction completely wrong, ὁ βασιλεύc seems required; I would have expected ὁ δὲ βασιλεύc in place of καὶ (which is almost certainly what is written); perhaps ἐπιχ]νοῦc <ὁ βασιλεύc>?

10 ἡ]θ[ε]c]λ]εν. Genitive absolute in both G and W (nom. absol. in R): θέλοντοc in G, μέλλοντοc W.

[τό]ν νεαν[ί]c]κρον. G and W (except R) both give the name here; he is referred to in this way again in the papyrus at 28 below.

ἡcεβηκότα with SBP: ἀcεβήcαντα MRLWV, ἀθετήcαντα G.

11 δίκαιον. Pointed; absent from both G and W.

οὐκ ἔαεν, papyrus alone: παρητήcατο G (παρεc-, corr. Perry), ἡτήcατο W. On the form see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 235.



12 . . . [ε. φή[ca]ε acceptable: εἰπὼν *GW*.

12-14 *τεθνεῶ[τα] κτλ.* G is close, despite some surface corruption, Perry's mending of which appears substantially confirmed. (*με ἐπι* could stand as well for *μὲν ἔξεν* as for Perry's *μὲν ἔχεν*; τοῦ βίου is perhaps an intrusive gloss.) *W* has this in direct speech, and garbled (*pace* La Penna, art. cit. 268).

*παρακάλυμμα τῆς αἰσχρ[ύ]η[ε].* Cf. *εὐσεβείας κατακάλυμμα*, an intrusive marginal note in G in § 7.

14-15 Word-order as G, but οὖν with *W*.

15 *ποίει δὲ θέλει* (1. *θέλει*). Without counterpart in either G or *W*, both of which plunge straight into "λαβὼν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν" κτλ. The papyrus' continuation, however, is no less abrupt, for I can see no likely way of taking ]δε as δέ. In the Ahiqar story (with the possible exception of the Aramaic version from Elephantine, whose narrative survives only as far as the *Scheintod*) the question of the adoptive son's punishment is not even raised until Ahiqar has dealt with the Egyptian problem, which is what had prompted his reappearance. It is on his return from his success in Egypt that the king invites him to 'Ask what thou wilt' (Rendel Harris's translation of the Syriac, Ahiqar 7. 23 ~ 24-6 Arabic, 6-7 Armenian) whereupon Ahiqar asks for Nadan to be handed over to him for punishment and vituperation. Whether or not *ποίει δὲ θέλει* is an echo of Ahiqar's *carte blanche*, the abrupt transition to the ζήτημα theme here may be a sign of the dislocation of the narrative. Subsequent transition points from the one theme to the other are at 24-5 and 102.

16 *τοῦ τῶν Α[ἰ]γγυ[π]τῶν βασι[λέως].* This is G's order, not *W*'s; SBP omit the phrase altogether.

17 *ἀναγνοῦς . . . καὶ ἐπιγνοῦς.* Merely *ἐπιγνοῦς* in *W*, and *γνοῦς* in G. For the combination cf. the Alexander Romance i 39, *ὁ Δαρείος ἀναγνοῦς τὰ γράμματα Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπέγνω τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς δύναμιν.*

The ζήτημα was to build a tower touching neither earth nor heaven (somewhat ironical in view of the fact that οὔτε γῆς οὔτ' οὐρανοῦ ἄπεται was proverbial ἐπὶ τῶν περιπτῶν καὶ μηδὲν πρὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα *συντελοῦντων*, *Corr. Pargem. Gr.* i App. Cent. iv 47, cf. Lucian *Alex.* 54), and to answer any question (§ 105 ~ Ahiqar 5. 2). Another ζήτημα with both oriental and Aesopic connections is that of drinking up the sea. According to Plutarch (*Conv. sept. sap.* 151 B-D) the king of Ethiopia challenged Amasis king of Egypt on this one; Bias was on hand in the problem-solving role. But the same ἀδύνατον crops up in the Aesop Life (§§ 69-71) solved by Aesop for his master Xanthus.

18 *μειδιάσας.* G and SBP copulate with the preceding participle; not MRLVW.

18-19 *τῶν οὕτως G, om. W.*

19-21 *π[ε]ρίμφο μὲν.* Not *πέμφομεν*, ω almost certain. Neither G nor *W* has *μὲν*.

The εἰάν clause (21, conceivably *ὅταν* or *ἐπὶ* in pap.) comes at the beginning in *W*.

*τὸν οἰκοδομή[ε]σ[α]ντα τὸν πύργ[ον].* G and *W* have the plural both here and in the original formulation of the ζήτημα, § 105; but the Ahiqar versions apparently have the singular (5. 2). The papyrus' word-order is with G; but as to tense, G has the present, while the *W* archetype evidently (*pace* Perry) had the future, as the papyrus, and SBP have *μέλλοντας οἰκοδομεῖν*.

*τὸν ἀποκριθῆσόμενον τὰ ἐπερωτώμε[να].* SBP, together with V, here have the present. As for *τὰ ἐπερωτώμε[να]*, G has *τὰ ἐρωτήματα* here, but *τὸ ἐπερωτώμενον* in § 116; *W* has only *σοι* here, and a relative clause in § 116. Cf. also § 105.

21-4 G and *W* shorter, and mutually similar. Asyndeton with G (cf. § 106 *init.* and § 113 *ad fin.* in *W*), τ]οῦς πρέσβεις with *W*.

*Λύκω[ρος]* (not named here in G or *W*): this spelling, confirmed at 114, is given also by the Berlin fragment, P. Berol. 11628, the only other papyrus in which the name occurs. Both in G and in *W* (SBP apart) it has become the familiar (to a Greek) *Λυκοῦργος*, while the SBP tradition indicates (an intermediate?) *Λυκοῦρος*. Lyceros, the name by which he is traditionally known, has no real authority, see Perry, *Studies* 53, 57f. Cf. intro.

*μ]ῆ ἔρωτήσας αὐτὸν τὸν ὄρον.* A guess, without counterpart in *GW*; 'without asking him the meaning', i.e. without asking for 'definition' or 'specification' of his intentions. The king might have been expected to seek enlightenment: such was his confidence in Aesop that he did not. But this is questionable, especially as regards the meaning of *ὄρος*.

23 At beginning, e.g. *εὐθύς, πάλιν, οὕτως.*

24 *καθὼς κτλ.* Unrepresented in *GW*. *πρὸς Νεκτανεβῶν* at least reads like a gloss. The spelling of the name is *Νεκτανεβός* in P. Berol. 11628 (30, cf. 22f.), *-αναβῶν* in G (nom. acc. gen., *-βῶ* dat.; nom. *-βῶ* once, 112), *-εναβῶ* in *W* (nom. acc. gen., *-βῶ* dat.). The various manuscripts of the Alexander Romance present similar variations (L. Bergson, *Der gr. Alex.-Roman*, Rez. β xxix). Cf. Parthey, *Ägyptische Personennamen* 62f.

24-7 *ἐκέ[λευσεν κτλ.]* Here again G and *W* are akin to each other. At the beginning of 26, I suppose

something like εἶχεν, πάλ[ω] δέ. The first clause, 24-6, apparently corresponds to *W*'s πάντα τὰ αὐτοῦ ἀποδοῦς, unrepresented in *G*. We have (1) restoration of possessions (*om. G*), (2) restoration of position as διοικητής (original appointment § 101 *fm.*, succession by Aenus § 104 *fm.*), and (3) committal of Aenus (independent clause as in *G*).

For 26f., perhaps τὸν | [δὲ Ἀνο]ν ἔκδο[ο]τον, structure as *G*, ἔκδοτον with *W*. But the supplement seems a bit on the short side: δ' ὑπόητο[ν]? With the phrase ἔκδοτον αὐτῷ παρέδωκε compare now ἔκδοτόν μοι δίδωσκον in the Sesonchosis Romance, XLVII 3319 ii 3-4.

27-41 See fr. 2 for possible accessions to these lines.

27-31 δὲ Ἀίτωπος κτλ. Most of this has no counterpart in *G*'s brief introduction to the speech, or in *W*'s briefer one. In the Ahiqar story Nadan is tied up and beaten at this point (Syriac 7. 25 ~ Arabic 7. 27 ~ Armenian 7. 8), but Ahiqar seems to have sloughed off all trace of vengefulness in his transformation into Aesop, NB 10-14 above and cf. 100-2 below.

At the beginning of 28, perhaps πάλιν λαβ[ή]ν ε[ί]ς[ι] ἐαυτὸν *vel sim.*, cf. *GW*. But many other possibilities, e.g. εἶ[ν] ἐαυτοῦ, ἀ[φ'] ἐαυτοῦ, -ε αὐτοῦ.

οὐδὲν is presumably οὐδὲν rather than οὐδ' ἐν.

The papyrus is damaged, warped, and abraded. θξιξα in 29 is followed by an upright (not c): either (-)δειξαι, in which case possibly -ου[c] (or τοῦ -ου[ν]) ἔνεκα δεῖξαι, or ἐπεδείξατο *vel sim.*, in which case οὐ[ν] | ἐν may be οὐ[δ] ἐν.

Before λόγων, διὰ (cf. *G*) cannot be excluded nor confirmed.

εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα, sc. χρόνον? But the neuter would be expected, even without εἰς τὸ μέλλον at 36 below.

30-41 fr. 2, q.v., may preserve remnants of the beginnings of these lines.

31 Here begins the Cod. Vind. extract.

31-42 Cod. Vind. is basically similar to the papyrus' text, except that it has apparently suppressed the second sentence (33-6 in papyrus, represented in no other version) and has generalized the adoptive son-father relationship to a pupil-teacher one. *G* is very corrupt and lacunose, but was evidently closer to the papyrus in some particulars: ἀπέδωκας, *om. ως δεῖ, τὸν υἱὸν ποιοῦμενος* (l. τὸν υἱοποιούμενον), στέργε, ἀνάγκη. [*G*'s underlying text may have been something like: Ἄκουσον τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων, Πλιε, <δὲ ὦν> καὶ πρότερον παιδευθεὶς <οὐκ> ἀληθεῖς μοι τὰς χάριτας ἀπέδωκας. . . . πρῶτον μὲν θεὸν εἴβον βασιλέα τίμα· τὸ κρατοῦν γὰρ ἴσον θεῷ. τὸν υἱοποιούμενον στέργε <ὡς> τοὺς γονεῖς· τοῖς μὲν ἀνάγκη εὖ ποιεῖν διὰ τὴν φύσιν, τῷ δὲ ἐκ προαιρέσεως στέρξαντι διπλάσιον τὰς τιμὰς <δεῖ> διδοῖναι καὶ χάριτας.] *W* incorporates some alien material, but apart from that adds nothing to *G* except φύλαξον (αὐτοῦς) ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου, which may be a transposed paraphrase of the sentence ending παρακαταθήκη found in the papyrus and Cod. Vind.; the point about natural and adoptive parents has gone. SBP eliminate the theme of ingratitude altogether — thereby severing completely the umbilical cord with Ahiqar.

At the end of 31 τῆ is abraded beyond possibility of verification.

δικαίας χάρι[ι]τας. No room for μοι?

ταύτας. Not ταύταις.

]θ. ε. ας in 34 could be a noun in agreement with ταύτας (e.g. | σε τὰς θεοισεχθρείας), but (-)]θρέψας (if compound, ἀνα-?) suits the traces well. Perhaps | τὰς χάριτάς σε θρέψας, or ταύτας may pick up the preceding χάριτας, as Dr Rea suggests, e.g. | λαβὼν σε καὶ θρέψας. Either of these restorations would accommodate the alpha of fr. 2. 8.

34-6 I cannot restore. γενάμε[ν]ος or -νον, I suppose (though -γενομ- in 2 above, where see n.); in reference to Aenus or to himself? In 35 πρός σε looks likely enough; not, I think, λαμπρός or -όν. I cannot make out what follows φυσικῆ (-κῆ or -κῆ; not κῆι, iota adscript nowhere written in this papyrus), which conceivably refers to the 'natural' as distinct from the adoptive relationship, cf. 41. The sentence ends at ]ε in 36; the options are limited if the use of paragogic nu can be relied on; certainly it is normal elsewhere in the papyrus.

36-7 εἰς τὸ μέλλον οὐκ φύλασσε τοὺς λόγους μου. The metre is accidental, I take it. The papyrus has no trace of the monostichoi that have invaded *W*'s version of the speech.

38 φοβ[ο]ῦ: τίμα all the other texts. Perhaps cf. τοὺς φόβους Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ (= the respect in which he was held?) in the β-recension of the Alexander Romance, p. 80. 3 Bergson. 1 Pet. 2: 17 has τὸν θεὸν φοβεῖσθε, τὸν βασιλέα τιμᾶτε, Prov. 24: 21 φοβοῦ τὸν θεόν, υἱέ, καὶ βασιλέα.

38f. τὸ | γὰρ κρατοῦν [ἰσόθεον ἔστιν]. τὸν | γὰρ κρατοῦν[ι]τα, after *G*'s τὸν κρατοῦντα, would be possible, but I would presume that τὸ κρατοῦν γὰρ lies behind that. I restore ἰσόθεον on the basis of *G*'s ἴσω θω (l. ἴσον θεῷ?): ἰσότημον more fecbly Cod. Vind. For ἰσόθεον cf. Aesop's challenge to Nectanebo in § 116: εὐδὲ θέλει ἀνθρωπος

ὡν ἰσθῆφ' ἐρίζειν βασιλεῖ (sc. Lycoro); and the Theban aulete to Alexander in the Alexander Romance, i 46 *fin.*, τὸ δὲ ἰσθῆον κράτος ἐεβόμεθα (cf. i 40 *ad init.*, ii 16 *ad fin.*).

Gods and parents: esp. (i) Pack<sup>2</sup> 1244 (gnomology, Pap. XIII Jäkel, *Menandri Sententiae*) 17f., [θεὸν προτίμα,] δεύτερον δὲ τοὺς γονεῖς (= Men. *sent.* 322). [ἴσον θεοῖς χρῆ πάντα τ]εμῆμ̄ τὸς γονεῖς (W Men. *sent.* 525, νόμος γονεῦσι <ν> ἰσθῆους τιμὰς νέμειν); and (ii), in Gracco-Egyptian tradition, the *Hypothecae* of Amenophis (Wilcken, *Aegyptiaca*, *Festschrift für Ebers*, 142 ff.) 3-4 ὁμοίως θεοὺς ἐέβον [καὶ] | γονέας.

39 τ[ὸ]ν ἰσθῆφ' ἐρίζειν. Read by grace of G's τὸν ὑν ποιούμενος, which I presume represents τὸν υἰοποιούμενον (differently La Penna, art. cit. 273 n. 19). τὸν καθηγγητῆν σου Cod. Vind.

δ]ε[ῖ]τ[ε]ρ[ε]ν. στέργειν. στέργειν G: τίμα Cod. Vind.

At the beginning of 40, ἴσα γονεῦσιν (as Cod. Vind.), ὡς τοὺς γονεῖς (cf. G), *vel sim.* (But see fr. 2.)

41 τ]εργοντι. στέργοντι Cod. Vind., which is no doubt also what lies behind G's τεύξαντα. The papyrus is badly damaged, but στέργοντι rather than στέργοντι is indicated.

42-5 τὴν καθημε[ρι]νὴν κτλ. Represented in G and in Cod. Vind., absent from W. G stops short at δύνη. Correspondence between the papyrus and Cod. Vind. is almost exact: ὡς ἂν δύνη: καθὼν δύνη Cod. Vind. (κάθοςον Westermann: καθὼ ἂν?); εἰς τ]ὴν αὔριον: εἰς αὔριον Cod. Vind.

ὄρεκτικ[ώ]τερος. Cod. Vind. is reported as having ἐρευτικώτερος, Westermann's emendation of which to ἐργατικώτερος, printed by Perry, can now be discarded in favour of ὄρεκτικώτερος. (Could this be what Cod. Vind. in fact has?) It seems good health depends not on work but on appetite.

45-6 ἐν βασιλικῇ αὐλῇ κτλ. Represented in the Greek versions only in Cod. Vind., where again the correspondence is close.

This is the first of the precepts delivered by Ahīqar to Nadan in his first speech. There is a special affinity with the Armenian version, not shared with the Syriac or Arabic versions, in its mention of 'the royal gate' ('Son, if thou hear any word in the royal gate, make it to die and bury it in thy heart, . . . ' Armenian 2. 1).

46-50 εἰς κτλ. No counterpart in any of the other versions. Possibly—but improbably?—more than a single saying.

The first surviving traces of 47 are extremely scant; π[ο]ρευόμενος one of the more obvious possibilities. The scribe wrote κρ, for κρύπτε, then washed out the ρ before proceeding. κάτω κύπτε: as a gesture of humility or self-effacement? (Not so at Ar. *Vesp.* 279, Thphr. *Char.* 24. 8, or Herod. 3. 41, but the saying will be oriental, not Greek.) One of the Ahīqar proverbs enjoins humility, but despite the fact that the Arabic version of it begins 'bend thy head low down' (Arabic 2. 11) I see no significant connection.

]ρ. . -ρα, ὡς χ]ρῆ, *al.*; or -και word-end, but -ρ, και suggests nothing plausible.

αυτ]ησα. [. The final trace, after which the surface is abraded, is an upright. αυτ]η σα. [ (e.g. σαγ[ί]δες)?

Otherwise, αυτ]ησα. [ (αι[?]). Presumably *ea* not *ipsa*; if this indicates the gender of the noun that I presume stood at the beginning of 47, the βασιλικῇ αὐλῇ might be worth thinking of.

] . . . A few scattered specks.

We cannot be sure that all three -ουσιν forms are finite rather than participial.

ὑψηλός and καταβάλλειν both recur in the precept of 63-5 below.

50-6 Here W comes back, and is joined for 53-6 by G; Cod. Vind. is still absent.

In the first part of the sentence, 50-3, there are apparently only minor differences between the papyrus and W (the only other witness). The supplement in 51 is perhaps a little long, and the papyrus may be more likely to have had *σεαυτόν* than *ἐαυτόν*: possibly *δεινὸν σεαυτόν* without *σου*, or something more radically different. The sentence-end is a problem. *γίνωνται* (however spelt) is expected, but *οἴται* is clear enough, and the directly preceding letter appears to be φ; and there is more space available than *γείνονται* would have occupied. The preceding letters are abraded almost entirely away. -τρέφονται (c.g. ἀνα-, δια-) for -τρέφονται?

Of 53-6 the most plausible reconstruction may be:

τοὺς δὲ ἐχθροὺς εὖ-  
χου ἄρρ]ω[στεῖν] κ[α] [π] ἐνεσθαι, ἵνα κατὰ πάντα  
ἀδυνατ]ώ[ε] [ν, τ] ὄψ[ε] [δ] ἐ φ[ί]λους σου σε φρονησας  
ζῆν, ὄν]ησο[υσιν γὰρ σε] ἢ λόγω ἢ βίω.

It is not easy to determine the amount of text missing at the beginning of the lines. I have used the last line of the column, 57, as an aid in fixing the amount lost; the restored phrasing of that line (restored from Cod. Vind. and W) is a little shorter than anticipated, but not unacceptably so.

The papyrus' text of 53-6 was apparently closer to G than to W. The papyrus is alone in having a

connective at the beginning; that is not to say that the two pairs of sentences were not discrete originally. No *cou*, *κατὰ πάντα* in the *ἵνα* clause, apparently *ἀδυνατώσειν* without complement.

In the second limb, 55-6, *ωφρονοῦντας* (*εὖ φρον.* not to be read) stands in place of G's *εὐφραίνοντας* (om. *W*), which may be a corruption of it (unless by conflation with *εὐφραυνομένους*). For the beginning of 56, I have hesitantly suggested *ζῆν*. *W*'s *εὐτυχεῖν*, unless all the last several lines of the column were longer than in my reconstruction, would be too long. G has *ζῆν* in the first clause, in parallel with *ἄρρωστῆν* (l. *ἄρρωστῆν*) and *πένεσθαι*: might it have been displaced from an original position following *εὐφραίνοντας*, where G is grammatically defective? (*W*'s *εὐτυχεῖν* may then be a paraphrase of *ωφρονοῦντας* *ζῆν*.) *W*'s *κατὰ πάντα* and *θέλε* (*θέλε* can easily be dispensed with in view of *εὐχου* above) seem to be padding.

Alexander the Great, writing to the Tyrians in the Alexander Romance, i. 35, signs off with *ἔρρωσθε ωφρονοῦντες· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἔρρωσθε δυστυχοῦντες*.

*βίος* 'conduct'; see Lampe, *PGL* s.v. A5 for *βίος* conjoined with *λόγος*. Is the end an echo of *Il.* i. 503 *δῆνα / ἦ ἔπει ἢ ἔργω?*

56-60 *τῆ γ[υνα]ί[κ]ι κτλ.* G again fades out, but *W* stays, and Cod. Vind. returns.

The traces suggest *γυναϊκί* with Cod. Vind. rather than *W*'s *συγκοίτω*.

In the *ὄπως* clause *W* and Cod. Vind. differ only slightly from one another, and the papyrus in turn differs slightly from both (word-order; *θελήσῃ* Cod. Vind.: *ζητήσῃ W*); SBP have *ἐτέρου* for *ἄλλου*.

In the next sentence, *κοῦφον κτλ*, the papyrus differs again, and I cannot confidently reconstruct. At the beginning of 59 the syllabification rules limit the options. *τ* is sure (not *γυναί*||*κίον*). Some equivalent of *τὸ γυναικίον* is expected (and cf. 77), but apparently not to be found. *κοῦφον γ[άρ] καὶ ἐμπλη[ρ]κτον* might suit; should *τὸυτο τὸ*, or at least *τὸ*, be inserted?

*κεκολακευμένον* [δὲ: καὶ κολακευόμενον *W* and Cod. Vind., which raises the possibility of *κκεκ*. here, by quasi-haplography. Cod. Vind. then has *ἐλαττον οὐ φρονεῖ ἀμαρτάνειν*, where *ἐλαττον* and *οὐ* seem to be doublets (*ἐλάττονα* Perry, deleting *οὐ*): *W* has *ἐλάττω φρονεῖ κακά*, where *κακά* looks like one of *W*'s characteristic trivializations. The papyrus' *οὐ* should exclude *ἐλαττον*, *-ονα*, *sim.*, but something must have stood at the end of 59. Is it conceivable that Cod. Vind.'s double reading was already present in the papyrus?

For the attitude to women cf. 75-9 below.

60-2 No counterpart in any of the other versions.

*τουστ*. The doubtful letter can only be *ε*, *θ*, *ο*, or *ς*. Possibly *τοὺς τὸ*, or else *τοὺς τε*, in which case these lines will be a second limb to the injunction of 56-60. After *ο*, a tallish upright, perhaps *ι*, *ν*, or *ρ*; then scattered traces in damaged context. *δρκογ[ρ]ς* would suit; but so would *οἰκξέτ[α]*: a piece of advice concerning one's servants, matching that concerning one's wife? In the *ἵνα* clause, *μῆ* seems reasonably assured. Then if *ε* is rightly read, any cognate of *κακός* is excluded; *κάκενοι* is possible (crasis not elsewhere in the papyrus, but unexceptionable here; cf. c.g. *κάκενός*, *κάκειθεν*, *κάγω* in the manuscripts of the Alexander Romance, or the list of crases with *καί* given by Gignac, *Grammar* i 321 f.). Then traces suggesting *λ*, not excluding *α* or *ν*; before *θ*, *ο* suggested: c.g. *γῶθω* is compatible; or *θω[ ]* may be *-θω[ ]* or *-θω[ ]ται*: *ἀ[π]θω[ ]* (= *ἀποθέωειν*) is attractive if my reconstruction is on the right lines, though *α[π]θ* looks a bit cramped. *ζουειν* is probably a participle, unless for subj. *-ζωειν*. A speculative restoration, in line with the cynical pragmatism of 56-60, might be: *τοὺς τε οἰκξέτ[α] σου καὶ πλείν (= πλέον) ὠφέλει, ἵνα μῆ κάκενοι ἄ[π]θω[ ]ται τοῖς μῆ κολά[ ]ζουειν*.

Another precept about slaves at 70-3 below.

62-3 Unrepresented in Cod. Vind. G has *φθόνον φεύγε* only, while *W* has substituted *πάντα δεινὸν ἄνδρα* for *φθόνον* (π. δ. ἄ. *φεύγε* a verse extract? S. Jäkel on *Men. sent.* App. 13. 14 compares *Men. sent.* 195; cf. too *sent.* 25, 288). The *ἐπιτάμμενος* phrase in *W* alone—SBP apart—in a different form (*αὐτοῦ . . . μῆ εἶναι*, for the papyrus' *αὐτὸν σοῦ εἶναι*).

Another precept against envy, 68-70 below.

63-5 Cod. Vind. is still absent, and *W* substitutes an unrelated monostich (*Men. sent.* 21 Jäkel), perverted in SBP. But G preserves (*τοὺς τὰ ὑψηλὰ οἰκοδομοῦντας ἐναντία οἰκοδομημάτων κατὰβαλε*). The precept would be more prudential if negative, and the Press Reader attractively suggests that it might be linked to what precedes by e.g. [*μηδέ; thus [μηδὲ τοὺς] τὰ κτλ.* 64 *ἰδ[ί]ων?*

Presumably no special connection with the anecdote of DL i. 69, *φασὶ δ' αὐτὸν* (Chilon) *καὶ Αἰεώπου πυθέσθαι, ὁ Ζεὺς τί εἶη ποιῶν, τὸν δὲ φάναι "τὰ μὲν ὑψηλὰ ταπεινῶν, τὰ δὲ ταπεινὰ ὑψῶν"*. (This latter, it may be noted, is matched by one of the Ahiqar proverbs in the Elephantine papyrus, ll. 149f. Cowley = prov. 60 Grelot, for Hebrew parallels to which see J. N. Epstein, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 33 (1913), 231.)

65-6 G fails: Cod. Vind., slightly out of sequence, has merely *ὀξύτερα βιάδιζε τῆς γλώσσης*: *W*'s version is longer and further removed.

*τοῖς ποσί* is an obvious guess, and suits the traces. *ψ*[, to give *τοῖς ποσῖν* [*ὀξύτερα κτλ*, is doubtful but acceptable, I think; not *οξί*].

The Ahiqar sayings include recommendation to think before speaking (e.g. Syr. A 2. 57, mentioning stumbling with the tongue; cf. the Elephantine papyrus, ll. 97-9 Cowley = provs. 14-16 Grelot), but I see no significant point of contact. Cf. 45f. above.

66-8 *ἐν οἴνῳ κτλ*. Represented in Cod. Vind., G, and *W*. *φιλολόγει* with Cod. Vind. and G (*βαττολόγει W*), *παί(δει)αν* with Cod. Vind. (*σοφίαν W*, *φιλολογίαν G*), simplex *σοφίζόμενοι* with SBPR (*κατασοφίζόμενος* rell.). The papyrus is alone in *ἄκαιρος*—but I would suppose this miswritten for *ἀκαίρως*—and in the 3rd pers. *καταγε]λασθήσεται*, on the basis of which I have added *τις*. (A more standard form of transition from imperative to 3rd pers. generalization is exemplified in the next maxim, *ὁ γὰρ φθονῶν κτλ*; but while *ὁ σοφίζόμενος* would be a very easy change here, it will hardly do, since it excludes *ἄκαιρος*.)

The Ahiqar sayings have several admonitions against drinking in excess or with unsuitable companions, but again, nothing closely comparable.

68-70 Cod. Vind. has this in full, *W* abbreviates, and G has a mere fragment. There can be no certainty about *καί* at the end of 68, which I have taken from G; *αὐτοῖς* is an alternative.

*αὐτ[δ]ν*. More strictly, I suppose, *αὐτόν* in error for *ἑαυτόν*. (Was this a choliamb, *ὁ γὰρ φθονῶν ἑαυτόν ἀγνοῶν βλέπτει*?)

70-3 In full in Cod. Vind. and *W*; G drops the *ἴνα* clause. The papyrus agrees almost exactly with Cod. Vind. so far as is apparent: *μεταδιδούς, ἀφ' ὧν (καί μεταδιδού, ἐξ ὧν G: W* paraphrases with *ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ*); *ἐντρέπωνται σε . . . τιμῶν*. No telling whether *δούλων* (Cod. Vind., G) or *οἰκετῶν* (*W*) is to be supplied at the end of 70.

Little doubt about [*σε* (om. *W*, after *ἐντρέπωνται* in Cod. Vind.), which exactly fits the lacuna.

73 *θυμοῦ κράτει*. So in Cod. Vind., G, and *W* (MLW: SBP substitute a comparable monostich; and ML append a complementary gnome).

73-5 *εἰάν τι κτλ*. Represented in full in Cod. Vind., G, and *W*, except that SBP omit the second sentence (as well as *παρηγμακῶς*) and R omits altogether. The papyrus accords with Cod. Vind. and G against *W*'s different construction in the first sentence. *μανθάνης* with Cod. Vind. against G's aorist (l. *παρηγμακῶς μάθης*, unless *μαθεῖν* is the product of contamination with a *W*-type version); no telling for certain whether *αἰσχυνθῆς* (Cod. Vind.) or *αἰσχύνου* (*GW*), but the position of the specks perhaps better suits the former; at all events not SBP's *ἐντρέπου*. In the second sentence the papyrus is without *μᾶλλον* (Cod. Vind., G) and *σε* (G).

*ὄψιμα[θῆ]ν, ἀμαθῆν*: on the form see Gignac *Grammar* ii 135f.

75-9 In full in Cod. Vind.: shortened in *W* (om. R): begun in G.

Cod. Vind. has *τῇ γυναικί σου κρύπτου*, a clause in itself, but the papyrus definitely had *κρυπτων*, which I presume is *κρυπτῶν* not *κρύπτων*, cf. G. *δῆλον τίθει* I take from Cod. Vind., but the only advantage it has over G's *ἀνατίθω* is a little more length.

Cf. Ahiqar, Armen. a 74 Charles, 'Reveal not thy secret counsel to thy wife. For she is weak and small of soul, and she reveals it to the powerful, and thou art despised.' But the same precept occurs in the Elephantine papyrus (l. 141 Cowley, prov. 53 Grelot) with not 'wife' (and the attendant characterization) but 'friends'.

*ἀπόρρητα κρύπτε* a Delphic commandment, Dit. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 1268 ii 16 (iii BC).

77-8 are collapsed into a single sentence in Cod. Vind. (the only other witness).

[*καθ*]η[*μένη μηχανωμένη*]: rather long, perhaps, but a single one of them would be too short.

79 *κυριεύει*: deliberative, with SB; *-σει* Cod. Vind. and *W* (MLP). (*-η* and *-ει* confusion *passim* in verb-endings, but not in the papyrus.)

79-82 Represented in Cod. Vind. and *W*, not at all in G.

*βίον ζήτει. βίον σου ζήτει* not excluded.

This is a bit of a puzzle. The problem presented by the phrase *πρὸς τὸ λαμβανόμενον* in Cod. Vind. (see Perry's proposed alteration; *ἀποθησαύριζε* seems confirmed, at any rate) is now compounded by the papyrus. None of the letters is in much doubt. *ἀλλὰ καί*, at least potentially, is a welcome clarification and firmly attaches the phrase, whatever it is, to the first part. I find this unintelligible and intractable. *W*'s versions (*τὸν καθημερινὸν ζ. προσλαμβάνειν ἄρτον καὶ . . . ἀποθησαύριζε, v.l. τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν ζ. προσλαμβάνων καὶ . . . τὸ ἀποθησαύριζεν*) look to me like rewritings. If we make the first clause negative (in defiance both of Cod. Vind.



91 *τύχην ψυχὴν* Cod. Vind., corr. Westermann. *ψ* cannot be excluded, in fact, but *τ* terminations, but definitely *-ην* rather than *-ον* here. Adjectives in *-μος* often have a diphthong, cf. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 105, 108-11, Palmer, *Grammar* i 26-8.

92-5 Cod. Vind. stays, *W* puts in one last appearance before again going its own way for the speech, and *G* returns for the second half (*ὡσαύτως κτλ.*).

92 *διάβολον* with Cod. Vind. and the pure *W* tradition (MRL, joined by Th): *διαβεβλήθη* by *W*.

93 Where the papyrus has *εἰρωνευσάμ[ε]νον*, Cod. Vind. has *γευσάμενον*, and *W* has *πρόσθετον*. SBPThW. *γευσάμενον* seems in the context completely meaningless, and I suppose it (or perhaps *πρόσθετον* preceding *εἰ καὶ ἀδελφός σου ἔστιν*, peculiar to Cod. Vind.) is a garbling of *εἰρωνευσάμενον*; and the true of *W*'s reading, unless that is a deliberate alteration of a precept found unintelligible. But *εἰ* itself is none too easy to make sense of, and despite the fact that all the witnesses conspire in the attempt to emend to *εἰρωνευσάμενος* (Parsons and Rea): 'pretend not to notice (his gossiping) opportunity to throw him out.' A different avenue would be opened up if we read *εἰρωνευσάμενος* may be a possible reading instead of *ω*, if the legs have been lost to abrasion), but this does not seem to be the case.

94 *ἐνε[κ]εν ἐγγ[ί]ας* (or possibly *ἐγγ[ί]ας*) not a certain reading, but probable in view of Cod. Vind. *ἐνεκα τοῦ εὐνοεῖν*; *W* is without this clause.

94 *ὡσαύτως* with *G* and the pure *W* tradition (MRL: om. SBPThW), *γάρ* with *W* alone (but *W* diphthong *αὐ* in previous clause).

*πρατ. καὶ λεγ.*; only *S* precisely so.

95-7 *ἐπι] μεγάλη κτλ.* Represented only in Cod. Vind., with apparently identical wording. *W* once becomes wayward, and in *G* the speech ends with *ἀναθήσεται* (~ 95 pap.).

98f. *λυπούμενος ἐπὶ τῷ ἡδικηκέναι καὶ διὰ λόγων*. Cf. *G* (where emend to *τῷ ἡδικηκέναι* and *συνμαρτυρῶσθαι*) before or after *διὰ τῶν λεγομένων*) and Cod. Vind. No room for *ἐπὶ τῷ ἡδικηκέναι* version (along with SBPTh's sub-version, which can be reconstructed as *μαρτυρωθεὶς διὰ τῶν λόγων τρυχωθεὶς διὰ τὸ τὸν Αἰσωπον ἡδικηκέναι, ἀπελλῶν καὶ*) is appreciably different. The unusual 'tongue-lash' metaphor probably owes its existence to the literal flogging of the Ahiqar original.

99f. *ἀποκαρτερήσας τὸν βίον μετήλλαξεν*. The vocabulary in common with *G* (*ἀπεκαρτέρησεν. μεταλλάξας*), the structure with Cod. Vind. and *W*; *ἀποκαρτερήσας* is shared with Cod. Vind. (contrast *ἀποκρημνισάμενος/-ίας* (ἐαυτὸν) *W*!), *μετήλλαξε* with *W* (*τὸν βίον ἀπέληξεν* Cod. Vind., emended by Perry to *τοῦ βίου ἀπέληξεν*; rather *τὸν βίον ἀπέλλαξεν*, cf. *S*?).

In the Aesop Life—*W* apart—the adoptive son dies out of remorse and chagrin. In the Ahiqar Life he 'swelled up like a bag and died' (Rendel Harris' translation of the Syriac, 8. 41). Judas Iscariot did just the same thing, according to Papias and an old interpretation of Acts 1: 18; cf. *JTS* 13 (1911-12) 278-85, *Am. Journ. Theol.* 18 (1914) 127-31. Is this how Aramaic traitors die? Anyway, it was evidently too bizarre to survive into the Aesop Life.

100-2 *ὁ δὲ Αἰσωπος κτλ.* *G* and Cod. Vind. each have a shorter sentence here, and *W* has nothing. 101 *-κτας* evidently ends a phrase which has no counterpart in the other versions: *ἀδικήσας, νικήσας, διοικήσας*, etc. Would *μη τοῦτο προσδοκῆσας* be intolerably ludicrous? There is no hope of reading what followed *Αἰσωπος*, though some guesses could be ruled out: the first trace is the top of an apparent upright, lost to the right, consistent with *γ, η, ι, κ, μ, ν, π*. Both *G* and Cod. Vind. have *λαμπρῶς αὐτὸν ἔθαιψε* as the main clause, then *πενθήσας*. Perhaps *θάψας* is to be supplied at the end of 101; before it, *ἐκπεπνευκότα, ἐκ π[αντός]*?

102 Cod. Vind. here ends.

*προσκ[α]λεσάμενος*. Supplied from *G* and SBPTh, but *ενγ-* cannot be ruled out. *τινας* or *τοὺς* would probably make the line too long, unless *-καλέσας*, which is possible.

103 *ἰξεντάς* (ἰξ pap., not *ιχν* or *χν*): *ἰξεντάς* an aberration of the *W* tradition (incl. SBPTh).

103-4 *συν[ληφθῆ]ναι[ι] ἄετῶν δ νεο[σ]ούς*. Closer to *W* than to *G*. No room for the numeral in full.

104 *ο[ι] δὲ τὸ προεταχθέν [ἐ]π[ο]ι[η]σαν*. Not in *GW*, who have a passive genitive absolute instead, *[ἐ]π[ο]ι[η]σαν* may be wrong; it is compatible with the traces, but the papyrus is much damaged hereabouts, and only the *c* is at all assured. Dr Rea attractively suggests *ἐπλήρωσαν*.

λαβῶν a mere guess.

106 δι' ὧν δοκοῦσιν ὄκνησται εἶν[αι]. Better put than the corresponding clause in G, ἐν οἷς δοκοῦσιν ἔπιτασθαι; no equivalent in W. ὄκνησται (cf. ὄκνησις, of eagles in Homer) may be a less highflown word than the lexica might suggest. The form, -πτεῖς not -πέται, is in conformity with later Greek's regular treatment of compounds in -πτερος (πέτομαι) as 3rd-decl. adjectives.

108 ἐπάνω ἑαυτῶν: i.e. on their backs, presumably. Contrast W's διὰ θυλάκων, and again in § 116, τὰς παῖδας διὰ τῶν ἡμιτελῶν θυλάκων τοῖς ποσὶν ἀπαρτήσας (ἡμιτελῶν del. Perry; but = open at the top?). G, without elaboration βαστάζω, is non-committal here (such a text presumably led the W redactor to his exegesis), but ἐκέλευεν <τοὺς παῖδας> ἀναβῆναι (Perry: ἀναβῆναι cod.: ἀναβῆναι or ἀναβῆναι stel?) τοὺς ἀετοὺς (<ἐπὶ> τοὺς ἀετούς?) in § 116 suggests the same mode of conveyance as given by the papyrus here.

γενόμενοι. Οἱ γενά-

109-10 With W against G. SBPTh lack this entire sentence.

ἐπὶ ὑψηλοῦ τοῦ ἀέρος: εἰς ὕψος W, εἰς τὸν ἀέρα G, cf. § 116. I should have expected either ἐπὶ ὑψηλοῦ or ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀέρος. Could this be a double reading?

111-13 ὑψηλοῦ κτλ. Closest to W, but the latter part a coordinate clause (as in S).

112-13 Hardly τοῖς παισί[α]. I suggest τῆν [πτη]σιν vel sim.

W's fussy explication, ὅτε γὰρ ἤθελον κτλ, is not represented.

113-15 ὁ οὖν Αἴσωπος κτλ. The papyrus does not state the time of year, which G and W both specify, in conformity with the response made to Nectancho (ἐάν ὁ χειμὼν παρέλθῃ, 21 above). Otherwise, G's text is close.

fr. 2

?Combines with fr. 1. 27-41, as follows:

	. . . . .	
	. [	
	. [	
	. [	
	]ο. [	(fr. 1. 30) τ]ὸν [ c. 4 ]
5	] . . . . . [	ξ]άμενον[ c οὔτως . ]
	] . νο. . [	κνον Α[ἵνε, δι']
	] . κ. . . [	δικαία[ c χάρ]
	] α[	] α[ c. 5 ]
	] νην. . [	(35) νην. . [ c. 5 ]
10	] . φ. χα. . [	ξαι χα. . [ . . ]
	] . . [ . ] ου. [	ξε [τ] οὐς [λόγου]
	] . . ψ. [	μ[ε]ν οὐν [τὸν θεὸ]
	] . [ . ] θεον[	ἰ]ς[ό]θεόν [έστιν.]
	] . . . ρτ. [	(40) ὤσπερ το[ύς γονεῖς. τοῦ]
15	] . τ. [	δι]ὰ τῆ[ν φύσιν]

It looks possible, though I cannot verify it, that this scrap may come from the left of the main fragment, in which case it will be read as in the second transcript above (which I break off at the point where fr. 1 takes over).



- 31 ξ]ῥμενν[ε is a forced reading, but perhaps not intolerably so.  
 32 Α[ῥνε. Trace of an oblique equally compatible with Α[ῥνε, but not with ΤΗλιε; see on 9.  
 35 Not νος or νον; γενομένη or -ην seems indicated.  
 36 φυλάξαι, it seems. ξ a high speck equally consistent with *inter alia* κ, but α is fairly clear. Then γάρ? I still cannot reconstruct these lines.  
 40 ὤσπερ is a very doubtful reading, and the restoration seems too long. τοὺς μὲν rather than τοὺ]τους μὲν?

Remaining are two smaller scraps, abraded and almost wholly undecipherable; not transcribed.

### 3721. THEOPHRASTUS, *On Winds* 4-7

Plate XII

21 3B.24/C(2)a

25 × 28 cm

Second century

Substantial remnants of three consecutive columns, written in a formal round and upright hand with some decoration, comparable e.g. with XLIV 3156 only rather more normal; XXVI 2450 is an earlier example of the same style. The manuscript may be assigned to the second half of the second century. 30-1 lines to the column, occupying a depth of 21 cm. Upper margin 5.3 cm, lower at least 2.0; intercolumnium *c.* 1.5. Columns *c.* 6.5 cm across, with about 17 letters to the line; a filler-sign is used to help justify the right margin, and final letters are sometimes diminished and laterally compressed. The fragments are of a single κόλλημα. The text of the treatise up to the first surviving column would have taken up, by calculation, just four full columns. If the roll contained this treatise alone, it will have had a length of *c.* 4.25 m.

Some of the scribal errors are corrected, whether *calamo currente* or subsequently; iota adscript seems regularly to be a later addition. Syllable division between lines is several times amended: for that perhaps a διορθωτής is responsible, who may also have made at least some of the corrections to the text itself. A crude paragraphus at iii 13/14 was perhaps added later. The first hand seems responsible for the desultory use of stops, which include an apparent double point at iii 15 (see XLVII 3326, 3327, intros.); accompanied, where evident, by paragraphus. No other lectional paraphernalia, unless a breathing at i 9.

This is an unintelligent copy of a text appreciably better than that carried by Cod. Vat. gr. 1302, known as P (Wimmer's A, Burnikel's 16; early xiv AD?), a manuscript of the 'fragments' which has been concluded by W. Burnikel, *Textgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu neun Opuscula Theophrasts* (Wiesbaden 1974) to be the medieval archetype. P's text is now shown to be even more corrupt than had been suspected. Over this short stretch of text the papyrus offers several improvements unanticipated by modern conjecture, most signally perhaps at ii 20-2, ii 25 f., iii 9 f., and iii 21 f. At the same time it has some trivial errors uncorrected, and possibly a few less superficial.

Dr Burnikel has been so generous as to have sent me his own collations of the manuscripts of this section of the treatise. My reports of readings are drawn directly from

his, and thus supersede earlier reports. But normally there is no occasion to record readings of manuscripts other than P. There is nothing to upset the archetypal status assigned it by Burnikel, despite an agreement between the papyrus and later manuscripts over  $\sigma\delta\tau\omicron\varsigma$  in § 7 (iii 21), against P's  $\sigma\delta\tau\omega\varsigma$  (which editors have preferred, mistakenly as I believe).

The manuscripts are cited by their conventional sigla, as listed in *Theophrastus, De Ventis*, ed. V. Coutant and V. L. Eichenlaub (Univ. of Notre Dame 1975), xiii. A comprehensive catalogue and description are given by Burnikel, *Untersuchungen* xxi-xxxvii; a concordance with his own numerical sigla, xxxviii f. As well as the edition of Coutant and Eichenlaub it has been necessary to consult Wimmer's Teubner (1862) and Didot (1866) editions, and also Schneider's (i-iv 1818, v 1821). O. Gigon offered a much improved text in his *Habilitationsschrift* (unpublished), for knowledge of which I am again indebted to Dr Burnikel.

Back blank.

91 *τύχην ψυχὴν* Cod. Vind., corr. Westermann. *ψ* cannot be excluded, in fact, but

92 *παραμονίμην, παράμονον* Cod. Vind. The compound (like the *-μονος* compounds terminations, but definitely *-ην* rather than *-ον* here. Adjectives in *-μος* often have a *ψ* in papyri, cf. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 105, 108-11, Palmer, *Grammar* i 26-8.

92-5 Cod. Vind. stays, *W* puts in one last appearance before again going its own way for the speech, and *G* returns for the second half (*ἑαυτῶς κτλ*).

92 *διάβολον* with Cod. Vind. and the pure *W* tradition (MRL, joined by Th): *διαβεβλήθη* by *W*.

93 Where the papyrus has *εἰρωνευεσάμ[ε]νον*, Cod. Vind. has *γευεσάμενον*, and *W* has *πρό* om. SBPThW. *γευεσάμενον* seems in the context completely meaningless, and I suppose it (or preceding *εἰ καὶ ἀδελφός σου ἔστιν*, peculiar to Cod. Vind.) is a garbling of *εἰρωνευεσάμενον*; and the true of *W*'s reading, unless that is a deliberate alteration of a precept found unintelligible. But itself is none too easy to make sense of, and despite the fact that all the witnesses conspire in the tempting to emend to *εἰρωνευεσάμενος* (Parsons and Rea): 'pretend not to notice (his gossiping, opportunity to throw him out.' A different avenue would be opened up if we read *εἰρωνευεσάμενος* be a possible reading instead of *ω*, if the legs have been lost to abrasion), but this does not seem

*πρός καιρόν* with Cod. Vind.: om. *W*.

93f. *ἐ[κ]βαλ[ε]* (so Cod. Vind.): or *ἐ[κ]βαλ[ε]* (so *W* except R), and the possibility of *θυρῶν* (MRL; and SBPThW: om. Cod. Vind.) cannot be excluded.

94 *ἐνε[κ]εν εἰρήν[ιας]* (or possibly *εἰρήν[ιας]*) not a certain reading, but probable in view of Cod. *ἐνεκα τοῦ εὐνοεῖν*; *W* is without this clause.

*ἑαυτῶς* with *G* and the pure *W* tradition (MRL: om. SBPThW), *γάρ* with *W* alone (but *W* c previous clause).

*πρατ. καὶ λεγ.*; only *S* precisely so.

95-7 *ἐπί* *μεγάλη κτλ*. Represented only in Cod. Vind., with apparently identical wording. *W* once becomes wayward, and in *G* the speech ends with *ἀναθήσεται* (~ 95 pap.).

98f. *λυπούμενος ἐπὶ τῷ ἡδικηκέν[αι] καὶ διὰ λόγων*. Cf. *G* (where emend to *τῷ ἡδικηκέν[αι]* and s. *μαστιγώσθαι*) before or after *διὰ τῶν λεγομένων*) and Cod. Vind. No room for *αὐτόν* with *ἡδικηκέν[αι]* version (along with SBPTh's sub-version, which can be reconstructed as *μαστιγωθείς διὰ τῶν λόγων τρυχωθείς διὰ τὸ τὸν Αἰσωπον ἡδικηκέν[αι], ἀπελθὼν καὶ*) is appreciably different. The unusual 'tongue-lash' metaphor probably owes its existence to the literal flogging of the Ahiqar original.

99f. *ἀπ[ο]καρτερήσ[α]ς τὸν βίον μετῆλλαξεν*. The vocabulary in common with *G* (*ἀπεκαρτέρησεν. μεταλλάξας*), the structure with Cod. Vind. and *W*; *ἀποκαρτερήσας* is shared with Cod. Vind. (contra *ἀποκρημνισάμενος/-ίας* (ἐαυτὸν) *W*!), *μετῆλλαξε* with *W* (*τὸν βίον ἀπέληξεν* Cod. Vind., emended by Perry to *τοῦ βίου ἀπέληξεν*: rather *τὸν βίον ἀπῆλλαξεν*, cf. S?).

In the Aesop Life—*W* apart—the adoptive son dies out of remorse and chagrin. In the Ahiqar Life he 'swelled up like a bag and died' (Rendel Harris' translation of the Syriac, 8. 41). Judas Iscariot did just the same thing, according to Papias and an old interpretation of Acts 1: 18; cf. *JTS* 13 (1911-12) 278-85, *Am. Journ. Theol.* 18 (1914) 127-31. Is this how Aramaic traitors die? Anyway, it was evidently too bizarre to survive into the Aesop Life.

100-2 *ὁ δὲ Αἰσωπος κτλ*. *G* and Cod. Vind. each have a shorter sentence here, and *W* has nothing. 101 *-κρας* evidently ends a phrase which has no counterpart in the other versions: *ἀδικήσας, νικήσας, διοικήσας*, etc. Would *μη τοῦτο προσδοκῆσας* be intolerably ludicrous? There is no hope of reading what followed *Αἰσωπος*, though some guesses could be ruled out: the first trace is the top of an apparent upright, lost to the right, consistent with *γ, η, ι, κ, μ, ν, π*. Both *G* and Cod. Vind. have *λαμπρῶς αὐτὸν ἔθαψε* as the main clause, then *πενθήσας*. Perhaps *θάψας* is to be supplied at the end of 101; before it, *ἐκπ[ε]νευκότα, ἐκ παντός?*

102 Cod. Vind. here ends.

*προκ[α]λεσάμενος*. Supplied from *G* and SBPTh, but *ενγ-* cannot be ruled out. *τινας* or *τούς* would probably make the line too long, unless *-καλέσας*, which is possible.

103 *ἰξεντάς* (ἰξ pap., not *χην* or *χην*): *ἰχεντάς* an aberration of the *W* tradition (incl. SBPTh).

103-4 *συν[ληθῆ]ν[α]ι[ε] ἄετων δ' νεο[σ]ούε*. Closer to *W* than to *G*. No room for the numeral in full.

104 *ο[ι] δὲ τὸ προταχθέν [ε]π[ο]ί[η]σαν*. Not in *GW*, who have a passive genitive absolute instead. *[ε]π[ο]ί[η]σαν* may be wrong; it is compatible with the traces, but the papyrus is much damaged hereabouts, and only the *c* is at all assured. Dr Rea attractively suggests *ἐπλήρωσαν*.

λαβῶν a mere guess.

106 δι' ὧν δοκοῦσιν ὠκυπέτεις εἶν[αι]. Better put than the corresponding clause in G, ἐν οἷς δοκοῦσιν ἔπαταρται; no equivalent in W. ὠκυπέτης (cf. ὠκυπέτης, of eagles in Homer) may be a less highflown word than the lexica might suggest. The form, -πετείς not -πέται, is in conformity with later Greek's regular treatment of compounds in -πέτης (πέτομαι) as 3rd-decl. adjectives.

108 ἐπάνω ἑαυτῶν: i.e. on their backs, presumably. Contrast W's διὰ θυλάκων, and again in § 116, παῖδας διὰ τῶν ἡμιτελῶν θυλάκων τοῖς ποσὶν ἀπαρτήσας (ἡμιτελῶν del. Perry; but = open at the top?). G, without elaborated βαρτάζειν, is non-committal here (such a text presumably led the W redactor to his execrable invention), but ἐκέλευεν <τοὺς παῖδας> ἀναβῆναι (Perry: ἀναβεῖν cod.: ἀναβ<αίν>ειν or ἀναβεῖν stel?) τοὺς ἀετοὺς (<ἐπι> τοὺς ἀετούς?) in § 116 suggests the same mode of conveyance as given by the papyrus here.

γενόμενοι. Or γενά-

109-10 With W against G. SBPTH lack this entire sentence.

ἐπὶ ὑψηλοῦ τοῦ ἀέρος: εἰς ὕψος W, εἰς τὸν ἀέρα G, cf. § 116. I should have expected either ἐπὶ ὑψηλοῦ or ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀέρος. Could this be a double reading?

111-13 ὑπήκοοι κτλ. Closest to W, but the latter part a coordinate clause (as in S).

112-13 Hardly τοῖς παισίν. I suggest τῆν [πτῆ]ειν vel sim.

W's fussy explication, ὅτε γὰρ ἤθελον κτλ, is not represented.

113-15 ὁ οὖν Αἴωπος κτλ. The papyrus does not state the time of year, which G and W both specify, in conformity with the respons made to Nectancho (ἐάν ὁ χειμῶν παρέλθῃ, 21 above). Otherwise, G's text is close.

fr. 2

?Combines with fr. 1. 27-41, as follows:

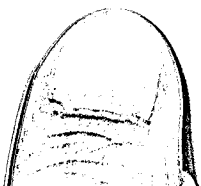
	. . . . .	
	. [	
	. [	
	. [	
	]ο. [	(fr. 1. 30) τ]ὸν [ c. 4 ]
5	. . . . . [	ξ]άμεγο[ c οὔτως. ]
	. νο. . [	κνον Α[ἶνε, δι']
	. κ. . . [	δικαία[ c χάρ]
	]α[	]α[ c. 5 ]
	]νην. . [	(35) νην. . [ c. 5 ]
10	. φ. χα. . [	ξαι χα. . [ . . ]
	. . [ . ]ου. [	ξε [τ]οὺς [λόγου]
	. . . ψ. [	μ[ἐ]ν οὔν [τὸν θεὸ]
	. [ . ]θεον[	ἰ]ς[ὁ]θεόν [έστιν.]
	. . . . ρτ. [	(40) ὡςπερ το[ὺς γονεῖς. τοῦ]
15	. τ. [	δι]ὰ τῆ[ν φύσιν]

It looks possible, though I cannot verify it, that this scrap may come from the left of the main fragment, in which case it will be read as in the second transcript above (which I break off at the point where fr. 1 takes over).

col. i		
	]. υ >	ἀνατολὴν οἰκοῦς]ιν
	... οιο... υ [ c. 6 ]ως	ὑέ]τιοι ὁ δὲ υ [ότος καὶ] ὤς-
	τ. ἀπλωσειπεινοιε >	τε ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν οἱ ἐ-
	ξ... γουτουτοπου	ξ ἐκείνου τοῦ τόπου
5	υεφ. τεστροικρος >	πνέοντες τοῖς πρός
	κτοῦμικρα... τ[.]υ	ἄρκτον. οὐ μικρὰ . ἐγτ[α]υ-
	αλλαμεγιστη. [. ]πη	θα ἀλλὰ μεγίστη ῥ[ο]πή
	... ]τασχωρασυφοσε >	τὸ] τὰς χώρας ὕψος ἐ-
	... ]... π... [. ]αρανπρο	χ]ειν ὅπου [γ]ὰρ ἂν προ-
10	]οψη.τανεφηκαιλα	κ]όψηι τὰ νέφη καὶ λά-
	... ]'εταξινενταυθα >	β]ηι στασίς, ἐνταῦθα
	... ] υδ. τοσγενεσις	κα]ι ὕδατος γένεσις.
	... ] καιτωνκυνεγγυς	δι]ὸ καὶ τῶν κύνεγγυς
	... ]... ]... πα... [. ]...]	τόπ]ω[ν ἄλ]λοι παρ' ἄλ[λ]οις
15	... ]... ]... ] ναγεμω.	υέ]τιοι τῶν ἀνέμων.
	... ]απεριμενυδατων	ἀλλ]ὰ περὶ μὲν ὑδάτων
	... ]τερ... ]... ]... ]... ] >	ἐν ἐ]τέροις εἴρηται δι-
	... ]ειονωνεκκτηςδαι	ὰ πλ]ειόνων. ἐκ τῆς δ' αὐ-
	... ]αιτιασκαιομεν >	τῆς] αἰτίας καὶ ὁ μὲν
20	c. 10 ] ρχομε >	βορέας εὐθὺς] ἀρχόμε-
	c. 10 ]δε... ]	νος μέγας ὁ] δὲ νότ[ος

§ 5

3 τξ or τρ prob.      5 ρ. τ: στ adjacent, presumed υ written tiny in between, below top of τ, apparently by m. 1; cf. 6, ii 4      6 Of the supposed paragraphus, the merest speck      After υ, a high stop conceivably lost      After μικρα, perhaps c altered to δ'      τ (εγτ): ετ adjacent, υ written as in 5 οντ      9 Severe damage, but text in little effective doubt; breathing far from certain      12 After εικ, a high stop conceivably lost



col. ii

τοιςχαρπ[ c. 5 ], . . . τον>  
 καιτουςτ[ c. 5 ] . . . .>  
 νουσανα[ . . . ] γονο>  
 5 τοσαρχομ[ . . . ] γοτρος<sup>οδ</sup>  
<sup>βορε</sup> ασα. γων[ . . . . . ] . . . . γ  
 παροιμια[ . . . ] τι>  
 ως[[ι]]γεγον. . γ[ . . ] . . . ω.  
 δεκαιτοπυκν. , και  
 ακυμονκμιας[ . ] . εχεσ  
 10 καιομαλεσε[ . . . ] ο. . .>  
 . γοτροςποι. [ . . . . . ] ον  
 αειγα[ c. 10 ] ε. .  
 τοιςτ[ c. 10 ] . τα  
 14 . . [  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 15 c. 4 ] . . . [ . . ] . . . [ . ] . [  
 . . . ] . οληπτεονα. περ>  
 . . ] φ[[ο]]νεισκαικαταλλους>  
 . . ] . ονξεξισελαττουσ  
 . . . ] . λαττοναπεχον>  
 20 c. 6 ] . λωντ. δε>  
 c. 5 ] . δ. . . ξιεναν<sup>α</sup>  
 c. 5 ] νεχεινομεξ' . . .  
 . . . ] . αιτοιξεγγυς  
 c. 6 ] αιθρ. . . . [ . ] . βο>  
 25 c. 5 ] τανη' κατα  
 c. 5 ] αμεγασειν[ . ] εν  
 c. 5 ] . ησιον. . [  
 c. 6 ] ωδα[ . ] θ. [  
 . . . . .

τοις γὰρ π[ερὶ Αἴγ]υπτον  
 καὶ τοὺς τ[όπουσ] ἐκεῖ-  
 νους ἀνά[παλι]ν ὁ νό-  
 τος ἀρχόμενος νότος ὁ δὲ  
 βορέας ἀη[[γ]]ων [ὄθεν κ]αὶ τὴν  
 παροιμίαν [ἐναν]τί-  
 ως [[ι]] λέγουσιν. [ὡς] αὐτως § 6  
 δὲ καὶ τὸ πυκνὸν καὶ  
 ἄκυμον καὶ ἄς[υ]νεχὲς  
 καὶ ὀμαλὲς ἐ[κεί]νοις  
 ὁ νότος ποιε[ῖ μάλλ]ον·  
 αἰεὶ γὰρ [ρ τοῖς ἐγγύς] ἔκα-  
 στο[[ι]]ς τ[οιοῦτος c. 4], τα  
 πύ[ρρω καὶ ἀνωμαλῆς  
 [καὶ διεσπασμένος]  
 [μᾶλλον. τούτων μὲν]  
 οὖν τὰ]ς εἰ[ρη]μ[έγ]α]ς [αἰτί-  
 ας ὕ]ποληπτόν αἴπερ  
 ἐμ]φανεῖς καὶ κατ' ἄλλους  
 τό]πους εἰς τὴν ἐλάττουσ  
 καὶ] ἔλαττον ἀπέχον-  
 τας ἀλλ]ήλων. τὰδε  
 δ' οὐκ ἄ]ν δόξειεν ἀνά-  
 [[α]]λογο]ν ἔχειν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ  
 νότο]ς αἰεὶ τοῖς ἐγγύς  
 τόποις] αἴθριος, ὁ [δ]ὲ βο-  
 ρέας ὄ]ταν ἦι κατὰ  
 χιμῶν]α μέγας ἐν [μ]ὲν  
 τοῖς π]λησίον ἐπ[ινε-  
 φῆς ἔξ]ω δ' α[ἰ]θρ[ιος. αἰ]-  
 [τιον δ' ὅτι διὰ μὲν] § 7

4 τρς: τς adjacent, ρ written tiny below top of τ 7 γ perhaps altered 13 ], ., curve at upper  
 right suggesting ε or c 20 τ., specks on torn and broken papyrus, compatible with α, not I think with  
 ο 21 ], , γ or αι ανα: αν> originally written 22 εχ, or cχ . . . ., specks on abraded surface:  
 perhaps [[γ]]γαρ (γ clear above) 27 . . [, see comm.

91 *τύχ[ην. ψυχὴν* Cod. Vind., corr. Westermann. *ψ* cannot be excluded, in fact, but *τ* is no less acceptable.  
 92 *παραιμόμην. παράμωμον* Cod. Vind. The compound (like the *-μονος* compounds) is normally of two terminations, but definitely *-ην* rather than *-ον* here. Adjectives in *-μοος* often have a distinct feminine in the papyrus, cf. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 105, 108–11, Palmer, *Grammar* i 26–8.

92–5 Cod. Vind. stays, *W* puts in one last appearance before again going its own way for the remainder of the speech, and *G* returns for the second half (*ὡσαύτως κτλ*).

92 *διάβολον* with Cod. Vind. and the pure *W* tradition (MRL, joined by Th): *διαβεβλημένον* SBP, joined by *W*.

93 Where the papyrus has *εἰρωνευσάμ[ε]νον*, Cod. Vind. has *γευσάμενον*, and *W* has *πρότερον ἐρωτῶντα*, om. SBPThW. *γευσάμενον* seems in the context completely meaningless, and I suppose it (or perhaps it and the preceding *εἰ καὶ ἀδελφός σου ἐστίν*, peculiar to Cod. Vind.) is a garbling of *εἰρωνευσάμενον*; and the same may be true of *W*'s reading, unless that is a deliberate alteration of a precept found unintelligible. But *εἰρωνευσάμενον* itself is none too easy to make sense of, and despite the fact that all the witnesses conspire in the accusative it is tempting to emend to *εἰρωνευσάμενος* (Parsons and Rea): 'pretend not to notice (his gossiping) and find an opportunity to throw him out.' A different avenue would be opened up if we read *εἰρωνευσάμενον* instead (*η* may be a possible reading instead of *ω*, if the legs have been lost to abrasion), but this does not seem to help.

*πρὸς καιρὸν* with Cod. Vind.: om. *W*.

*ἐ[κ]βαλ[λε]* (so Cod. Vind.): or *ἐ[κ]βαλ[ε]* (so *W* except R), and the possibility of *θυρῶν* (MRL; and *ἐκ θυρῶν* SBPThW: om. Cod. Vind.) cannot be excluded.

94 *ἔνε[κ]εν εἴρη[ί]ας* (or possibly *εἴρη[α]ς*) not a certain reading, but probable in view of Cod. Vind.'s *ἐνεκα τοῦ εὔνοεῖν*; *W* is without this clause.

*ὡσαύτως* with *G* and the pure *W* tradition (MRL: om. SBPThW), *γὰρ* with *W* alone (but *W* drops the previous clause).

*πρατ. καὶ λεγ.*; only *S* precisely so.

95–7 *ἐπὶ* *μεγάλῃ* κτλ. Represented only in Cod. Vind., with apparently identical wording. *W* once again becomes wayward, and in *G* the speech ends with *ἀναθήσεται* (~ 95 pap.).

98f. *λυπούμενος ἐπὶ τῷ ἡδικηκέν[αι καὶ διὰ λόγων*. Cf. *G* (where emend to *τῷ ἡδικηκέναι* and supply *<μεμαστιγῶσθαι>* before or after *διὰ τῶν λεγομένων*) and Cod. Vind. No room for *αὐτόν* with *ἡδικηκέναι*. *W*'s version (along with SBPTh's sub-version, which can be reconstructed as *μαστιγῶσθαι διὰ τῶν λόγων . . . τρυχωθεὶς διὰ τὸ τὸν Αἰσωπον ἡδικηκέναι, ἀπελθὼν καὶ*) is appreciably different. The unusual 'tongue-lashing' metaphor probably owes its existence to the literal flogging of the Abihqar original.

99f. *ἀπ[ο]καρτερή[α]ς τὸν βίον με[τ]ήλλαξεν*. The vocabulary in common with *G* (*ἀπεκαρτέρησεν . . . μεταλλάξας*), the structure with Cod. Vind. and *W*; *ἀποκαρτερήσας* is shared with Cod. Vind. (contrast *ἀποκρημνισάμενος/-ίσας* (*ἑαυτόν*) *W*!), *μετήλλαξε* with *W* (*τὸν βίον ἀπέληξεν* Cod. Vind., emended by Perry to *τοῦ βίου ἀπέληξεν*: rather *τὸν βίον ἀπήλλαξεν*, cf. *S*?).

In the Aesop Life—*W* apart—the adoptive son dies out of remorse and chagrin. In the Abihqar Life he 'swelled up like a bag and died' (Rendel Harris' translation of the Syriac, 8. 41). Judas Iscariot did just the same thing, according to Papias and an old interpretation of Acts 1: 18; cf. *JTS* 13 (1911–12) 278–85, *Am. Journ. Theol.* 18 (1914) 127–31. Is this how Aramaic traitors die? Anyway, it was evidently too bizarre to survive into the Aesop Life.

100–2 *ὁ δὲ Αἰσωπος κτλ*. *G* and Cod. Vind. each have a shorter sentence here, and *W* has nothing. 101 *-κησας* evidently ends a phrase which has no counterpart in the other versions: *ἀδικήσας, νικήσας, διοικήσας*, etc. Would *μη τοῦτο προσδοκήσας* be intolerably ludicrous? There is no hope of reading what followed *Αἰσωπος*, though some guesses could be ruled out: the first trace is the top of an apparent upright, lost to the right, consistent with *γ, η, ι, κ, μ, ν, π*. Both *G* and Cod. Vind. have *λαμπρῶς αὐτὸν ἔθαψε* as the main clause, then *πενθήσας*. Perhaps *θάψας* is to be supplied at the end of 101; before it, *ἐκπ[ε]νευκότα, ἐκ π[α]ντός?*

102 Cod. Vind. here ends.

*προσκ[α]λεσάμενος*. Supplied from *G* and SBPTh, but *συ-* cannot be ruled out. *τινας* or *τοὺς* would probably make the line too long, unless *-καλέσας*, which is possible.

103 *ἰξεντάς* (*ἰξ* pap., not *ιχν* or *χυν*): *ιχεντάς* an aberration of the *W* tradition (incl. SBPTh).

103–4 *συν[ληφθῆ]ν[α] ἁ[π]λοῦν δ' νεο[σ]κούς*. Closer to *W* than to *G*. No room for the numeral in full.

104 *ο[ἱ] δὲ τὸ προσταθῆν [ἐ]π[ο]ί[η]σαν*. Not in *GW*, who have a passive genitive absolute instead. *[ἐ]π[ο]ί[η]σαν* may be wrong; it is compatible with the traces, but the papyrus is much damaged hereabouts, and only the *c* is at all assured. Dr Rea attractively suggests *ἐπλήρωσαν*.

λαβών a mere guess.

106 δι' ὧν δοκοῦσιν ὠκυπετεῖς εἶναι. Better put than the corresponding clause in G, ἐν οἷς δοκοῦσιν ἵπτασθαι; no equivalent in *W*. ὠκυπετης (cf. ὑψιπέτης, of eagles in Homer) may be a less highflown word than the lexica might suggest. The form, -πετεῖς not -πέται, is in conformity with later Greek's regular treatment of compounds in -πετης (πέτομαι) as 3rd-decl. adjectives.

108 ἐπάνω ἑαυτῶν: i.e. on their backs, presumably. Contrast *W*'s διὰ θυλάκων, and again in § 116, τοὺς παῖδας διὰ τῶν ἡμιτελῶν θυλάκων τοῖς ποσὶν ἀπαρτήσας (ἡμιτελῶν del. Perry; but = open at the top?). G, with unelaborated βαττάζειν, is non-committal here (such a text presumably led the *W* redactor to his exegetic invention), but ἐκέλευεν <τοὺς παῖδας> ἀναβῆναι (Perry: ἀναβεῖν cod.: ἀναβ<αίν>εῖν or ἀναβεῖν stel?) τοὺς ἀετούς (<ἐπὶ> τοὺς ἀετούς?) in § 116 suggests the same mode of conveyance as given by the papyrus here.

γενό]μενοι. Or γενά-

109-10 With *W* against G. SBPT<sup>h</sup> lack this entire sentence.

ἐπὶ ὑψηλοῦ τοῦ ἀέρος *W*, εἰς ὑψος *W*, εἰς τὸν ἀέρα G, cf. § 116. I should have expected either ἐπὶ ὑψηλοῦ or ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀέρος. Could this be a double reading?

111-13 ὑπήκοοι κτλ. Closest to *W*, but the latter part a coordinate clause (as in S).

112-13 Hardly τοῖς παι]άν. I suggest τῆν [πτη]ειν vel sim.

*W*'s fussy explication, ὅτε γὰρ ἤθελον κτλ, is not represented.

113-15 ὁ οὖν Αἴτωπος κτλ. The papyrus does not state the time of year, which G and *W* both specify, in conformity with the response made to Nectanebo (ἐὰν ὁ χειμῶν παρέλθῃ, 21 above). Otherwise, G's text is close.

fr. 2

?Combines with fr. 1. 27-41, as follows:

	. . . . .	
	. [	
	. [	
	. [	
	]ο. [	(fr. 1. 30) τ]όν [ c. 4 ]
5	] . . . . [	ξ]άμενον[ c οὐτως ]
	] . νο . . [	κνον Α[ίνε, δι']
	] . ικ . . . [	δικαία[ c χάρ]
	] α [	] α [ c. 5 ]
	] νην . . [	(35) νην . . [ c. 5 ]
10	] . α . χα . . [	ξαι χα . . [ . . ]
	] . . [ . ] ου . [	ςε [ τ ] οὺς [ λόγου ]
	] . . . ν . [	μ[ ἐ ] ν οῦν [ τὸν θεὸ ]
	] . [ . ] θεον [	ι]ς [ ὁ ] θεόν [ ἐστιν . ]
	] . . . ρτ . [	(40) ὄςπερ τρ[ ὺς γονεῖς . τοῦ ]
15	] . τ . [	δι]ὰ τῆ[ ν φύει ]
	. . . . .	

It looks possible, though I cannot verify it, that this scrap may come from the left of the main fragment, in which case it will be read as in the second transcript above (which I break off at the point where fr. 1 takes over).



col. iii

	τομεγεθοςπολυνα. [	τὸ μέγεθος πολὺν ἀέρ[α
	κείνειτογτονδεφθα[[v]]	κινεῖ τοῦτον δὲ φθά-
	υ[. ]ιπηγνυσπριναπ. [	νει πηγνὺς πρὶν ἀπώ-
	σαιπαγεινταδεμε[	σαι· παγέντα δὲ μέ[[v]]-
5	ειτανεφηδιαβαρ[[ε]]. >ς	νει τὰ νέφη διὰ βάρους·
	εις[[τ̄ <sup>ε</sup> ]]ταεξωκαιπω. [	εἰς δὲ τὰ ἔξω καὶ πωρ-
	ρωτερω τομεγεθ. [. ]μα[	ρωτέρω τὸ μέγεθο[ς] μᾶ[λ-
	λονηηψυχροτ. >δι	λον ἢ ἡ ψυχρότης δι-
	αδιτοτ[. ] . . . [ . ]του[. ] . το	αδίτοτ[α]ι κα[ι] τοῦ[τ]ο τὸ
10	εργαζομενον οδ[	ἐργαζόμενον. ὁ δ[ὲ]
	γοτοςηττοντεεχ[	νότος ἦττόν τε ἔχ[ων]
	υληνκαιταυτην. υ	ῦλην καὶ ταύτην οὐ
	πηγνυσαλλαπωθω. [	πηγνὺς ἀλλ' ἀπωθῶν
	]αιθρ'ο. >σαιτοιςπλη. [	αἴθριο. >αἰεὶ τοῖς πλη[ς]ί-
15	] . υ:νετιωτεροδξειτοις	ον· ὑετιώτερος δ' <ᾰ>εἰ τοῖς
	]πωρρωμεγαστινε>	πώρρω μέγας πνέ-
	]ωνκαιληγωνμαλ	ων καὶ λήγων μᾶλ-
	λονηαρχομενοσφ[. ]	λον ἢ ἀρχόμενος, ὅτ[ι]
	αρχομεν[. ] >μενφ[	ἀρχόμεν[ο]ς μὲν ὀλί-
20	γοναεραπ̄ωθειπροῖ>	γον ἀέρα ἀπωθεῖ προῖ-
	ωνδεφ[. ] . . . ικαμου	ῶν δὲ π[λ]εῖω{ι}, καὶ οὐ-
	τοσα[ ε. 8 ] . οσεκ. .	τος ἀ[θροισόμε]νος ἐκνε-
	φουτ[	φουτ[αί τε καὶ πυκνω-
	θεικυδατ. [	θεῖς ὑδάτι[νος γίνε-
25	ταιτ[. . ] . . . [	ται. τ[. . ] . . . [ ε. 4 ἀπ' ἐ-
	λαττ[. ] >νο[	λάττ[ο]{ν}νο[ς ἢ μείζο[[v]]-
	. [ . ] >αρχησα[	ν[ο]ς ἀρχῆς ἄ[ρχεσθαι δια-
	φερει—μικ[	φέρει· μικ[ρὰς μὲν γὰρ
	]ουσησαιθρ'ο[	οὔσης αἴθριο[ς, μεγάλης
30	] >επινεφη[	δ' ἐπινεφῆ[ς καὶ ὑέτι-
	]οσδιατορ[	ος διὰ τὸ π[λείω συνω]θεῖν ἀέρα.

1 After α, apparently ρ corr. to ε, cf. 20 5 *fin.* Scemingly βαρει> corr. to βαρος, by *m.* 1  
 13/14 Paragraphus not by *m.* 1 14 ., surface largely abraded, but υ strongly suggested 20 αερα:  
 ε corr. from ρ 25 ] . . [ , foot of stroke descending from left, closely followed by speck, then after an  
 interval an oblique coming in from left, followed by lower left of apparent arc as of εθoc

col. i. 2-3 καὶ ὦς|τς (or ὦς | τὸ) ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν: πῶς εἰπεῖν ἢ P: καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν Schneider (iv 632, v lvi): καὶ ὡς ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν Coutant, neither claiming nor assigning credit. Cf. ὡς ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν in §§ 1 and 2.

5 P has a three-letter crasure between τόπου and πνεόντες; an insignificant blunder, it is now evident.

6-9 I take it that the scribe intended οὐ μικρὰ δ' ἐνταῦθα κτλ, as P. Schneider emended to οὐ μικρὰν δ' ἐνταῦθα ἀλλὰ μεγίστην ῥοπήν τὸ τῆς χύρας ὕψος ἔχει (μικρὰν EO, τῆς M [= Theodorus]), but the transmitted text is unexceptionable (for predicative ῥοπή cf. e.g. Dem. Ol. 2. 22, μεγάλη γὰρ ῥοπή . . . ἡ τύχη), and the noun phrase (τὸ . . . ἔχειν) quite in Theophrastus' manner; 'a most important factor here is that the places have height.'

9 γάρ (om. group δ, now known to have no ancient authority), oddly rejected by Wimmer, is obviously right.

9-10 προ|κ|όψη: παρακόψη P: προσκόψη edd. There is not room at the beginning of 10 for κκ|. προσκόψη for προσκόψη, then, a simple slip, facilitated at once by the syllabification problem (cf. ii 13) and by the existence of the word.

18-19 ἔκ τῆς δ' ἀν[|τῆς]: ἔκ τῆς αὐτῆς δ' P (ἔκ τῆς δ' αὐτῆς δ' EO). Should preference be given the papyrus' placement? Aristotle at least would probably have preferred the earlier placing (cf. e.g. Mete. 377<sup>b</sup>29 τὰς δ' αὐτὰς αἰτίας, 379<sup>b</sup>2 ἡ δ' αὐτῆ αἰτία, but 381<sup>a</sup>11 διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν γὰρ αἰτίαν v.l. αἰτίαν γάρ), Theophrastus I am not quite so sure.

21 After ὁ δὲ νότος the transmitted text, which will have occupied c. 9 lines lost from the foot of this column, continues: λήγων, ὅθεν καὶ ἡ παροιμία συμβουλεύει τὰ περὶ τοῦ πλοῦς (i.e. [εὐ πλεῖν] ἀρχομένου τε νότου καὶ λήγοντος βορέας, [Arist.] Pr. 26. 45 [with different explanation], cf. ibid. 20, 27). ὁ μὲν γὰρ εὐθὺς οἶον ἐπίκειται τοῖς περὶ ἄρκτον οἰκοῦσιν ὁ δὲ μακρὰν ἀφέστηκε· χρονιωτέρα δ' ἡ τῶν ἄπυθεν ἀπορροῆ καὶ ὄταν ἀθροισθῆ πλήθος. τοῖς γὰρ κτλ.

col. ii. 4-5 Confusion here. 4 originally ended in νοτος. ο δε, like βορε, is a subsequent addition. After ac, αηγων was written, but γ (sic) has a (cancelling?) dot above it. The medieval manuscripts here have just ὁ νότος ἀρχόμενος μέγας. The papyrus' underlying text must be ὁ νότος ἀρχόμενος μέγας, ὁ δὲ βορέας λήγων ('the south wind is strong at its inception, the north at its cessation'). But the scribe wrote νοτος instead of μέγας, skipped οδεβορε, and misread ληγων; and the text was only partially made good. The effective discrepancy, then, is over ὁ δὲ βορέας λήγων: textual loss in P, or interpolation in the papyrus? The fuller expression would not surprise, but the briefer is readily intelligible in the light of the preceding sentence (see at i 21 for text), and the garbling in the papyrus could be the result of an attempt to incorporate a marginal addition, itself a gloss πρὸς σαφήνειαν. On balance, even without invoking *lectio brevior potior*, I think the probability lies with P here.

9 ἀ[|v]νεχέ: l. cνεχέ, with P. ἀ- no doubt induced by the preceding privative.

12-13 Perhaps εκα[[|ε]]|ετο[[|ε]]c (the surface is abraded at the end of 12). Syllabification problem, c|τ or |ετ; cf. i 9-10 and see Maysen<sup>2</sup> i. 222e.

13-14 τοιοῦτος \*\* δὲ τὰ πόρρω P: τοιοῦτος τοῖς δὲ πόρρω edd.: τοιοῦτος <εἰς> δὲ τὰ πόρρω <προῶν> Gigon. Presumably εἰς δ|ε vel sim. in the papyrus; some such phrase is clearly indicated.

πόρρω is the papyrus' regular spelling: iii 6, 16.

14-15 It appears that two lines are missing between the fragments, as transcribed. A reconstruction omitting μάλλον, along with the Aldine and Wimmer, would be πώ[|ρω καὶ ἀνωμαλῆς καὶ| διεσπαρμένος. τούτων μὲν | οὐν τὰ|c κτλ; but I see nothing in favour of this.

18 τό|που: τρόπου P, corr. edd.

20-2 τῆδε [δ' οὐκ ἀ|ν δόξειεν ἀνά|λογο]ν ἔχειν (or εχειν): τοῦτο δ' οὐν καὶ δόξει ἀνάλογον εἶναι P. Schneider printed τοῦτο δ' οὐκ ἀν δόξειεν ἀνάλογον εἶναι in his text (i 760) but later preferred τοῦτο δ' ἀν καὶ δόξειεν ἄλογον εἶναι (v lvi), accepted by Wimmer. τοῦτο δ' οὐν {καὶ} δόξειεν ἀν ἄλογον εἶναι Gigon. The papyrus proffers unanticipated novelty in τῆδε and ἔχειν, and its text of the whole clause, if I have rightly restored it, is to be followed, I should suppose. A similar transition occurs later in this treatise, at §§ 31-2: τὰ μὲν οὐν συμπτώματα πειρατέον ἅπασι διαίρειν. ἐκεῖνο δ' ἀν δόξειεν ἄτοπον καὶ παράλογον εἶναι, κτλ (where ἐκεῖνο refers forward, as τῆδε here, and resolution follows introduced by αἴτιον δέ). For ἀνάλογον ἔχειν (ἀνάλογον functioning adverbially) cf. e.g. Arist. Mete. 339<sup>a</sup>18, 362<sup>b</sup>32; no doubt in this phrase ἔχειν has got corrupted to εἶναι elsewhere too.

23 ἐγγύς: εαυτοῦ P. We have had τῶν κύνεγγυς τόπων in § 5 above, and τοῖς ἐγγύς in § 6, and in the balancing clause here we have ἐν τοῖς πλησίον. I find this difficult to decide.

25-6 κατὰ | [χημῶν]α: χεμιῶν P. The papyrus' text (l. χεμιῶνα) is clearly right. It is Boreas itself that is

μέγας (§ 2, § 5), in winter (§ 10 in *lac.*); cf. [Arist.] *Pr.* 26. 62, Διὰ τί οἱ βορραὶ μεγάλοι τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐν τοῖς ψυχροῖς τόποις ἐπινέφελαι, ἕξω δ' αἰθριοί;

27 ἐπινεφέης: *συννεφέης* P. The traces suit *ει*[-], but not *ει*[-]. *συννεφέστατος* is used of ἀήρ in § 2, and certain winds are described as αἰθριοί καὶ ἀσυννεφεῖς in § 11, but ἐπινεφέης is what we would expect here (cf. e.g. §§ 4, 7, 8, regularly opposed to αἰθριος), and the matter might be thought clinched by [Arist.] *Pr.* 26. 62, quoted in the previous note. (ἐπινεφεῖς, which is I think always active, while ἐπινεφέλος is regularly passive, might have been expected there, but I hesitate to propose the change, for the distinction is not observed with the *συν*-compounds.)

col. iii. 2-3 φθάνει πηγνύς: φθάνει καὶ πήγνυσι P: φθάνει ἐκπηγνύς Wimmer, *coll.* [Arist.] *Pr.* 26. 62 φθάνοντες πηγνύντες: φθάνει πηγνύς Gigon.

6 The correction is curious in view of the fact that P apparently offers no connective here: εἰς τὰ ἕξω <δὲ> cdd. plur., εἰς <δὲ> τὰ ἕξω Gigon, Coutant. The papyrus' corrected text is presumably right.

7-8 τὸ μέγεθος[ε] μᾶλλον ἢ ψυχρότης: τοῦ μεγέθους μᾶλλον ἢ ψυχρότης P. The papyrus' text, anticipated in totality by Gigon and by Coutant (and I dare say by others; but Wimmer prints ἢ ψυχρότης), is obviously correct, hiatus after ἢ being venial. Cf. [Arist.] *Pr.* 26. 62 ἕξω δὲ τῶ μεγέθει ἐργάζονται (sc. οἱ βορραὶ) μᾶλλον ἢ τῶ ψυχρῶ [in the previous clause, ὅταν δὲ παγῇ (sc. τὰ νέφη), μένουσι διὰ βάρους, surely read μένει?], Arist. *Mete.* 364<sup>b</sup> 10-12.

8-9 διαδίδοται: I. διαδίδοται.

9-10 τὸ ἐργαζόμενον: ἐργαζομένη P: ἐργάζεται edd. Once again the papyrus' reading is a distinct improvement: 'this (sc. τὸ μέγεθος) is what has its effect', i.e. the strength of the wind blows the clouds away, rather than its coldness freezing them. In P evidently *το* was lost by haplography, and the participle brought into concord with ἢ ψυχρότης. τὸ ἐργ- will be in crasis.

14 We might expect αἰθριος αἰεί, in iteration of § 6 *fin.*, and this is what seems to underlie the muddle in the papyrus. P, however, gives αἰθρίαν ἄγει. Decision is not easy; but if the truth were αἰθριος αἰεί I would not expect to find αἰεί again after νεπιώτερος, and corruption from αἰθρίαν ἄγει to αἰθριος αἰεί is in the context more readily intelligible than the other way about. Aristotle has ποιῶσιν αἰθρίαν in comparable context (*Mete.* 364<sup>b</sup>9; but also αἰθριος is regularly used of a clearing wind, e.g. [Arist.] *Pr.* 843<sup>a</sup>13 αἰθρίους εἶναι).

15 δ' αἰεί (as P) must be the truth. Evidently a quasi-haplographic omission (ΔΑ).

20 The suprascript *a* makes *scriptio plena*.

ἀπωθεῖ: ἀπωθεῖται P. Editors have not demurred at ἀπωθεῖται, but the middle seems not to be used in such context; cf. § 4 ἀπωθεῖ τὸν ἀέρα, § 7 *fin.* συνωθεῖν ἀέρα, § 20 ὠθῇ τὸν πλησίον ἀέρα, *de sensu* 54 ἀπωθοῦντα ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ . . . τὸν ἀέρα, Arist. *Mete.* 358<sup>b</sup>1, 368<sup>b</sup>2, 373<sup>b</sup>9, [Arist.] *Pr.* 942<sup>a</sup>9, 944<sup>b</sup>29, 945<sup>b</sup>21; passives *passim*, as *συνωθεῖσθαι* πλείστον ἀέρα and ἐξωθεῖται in § 2.

21-2 οὔτος: οὔτως P. οὔτος is in fact the reading of most of the MSS, including Q (Mediol. Ambrosianus P80 sup., Burnikel's 14), which according to Burnikel, *Untersuchungen*, stands between the archetypal P and all the remaining MSS. (Dr Burnikel in his private collations negatively reports οὔτως only for P [his 16], U [Par. gr. 2277, his 23], and the Aldine and a manuscript copy thereof [his 20 and 21].) But if his stemma is correct, as I believe it is, only P's οὔτως has authority, and Q's agreement with the papyrus is without significance.

οὔτως is the accepted text; but οὔτος, with reference to the ἀήρ, seems to me unquestionably right. For the object-subject transition cf. e.g. § 20 ὠθῇ τὸν πλησίον ἀέρα κάκεινος τὸν ἐχόμενον, and for the propriety of applying the condensation etc. to the air rather than to the wind itself it is enough to refer to § 2, where the north and south winds πλείστον χρόνον πνέουσι διὰ τὸ συνωθεῖσθαι πλείστον ἀέρα πρὸς ἄρκτον καὶ μεσημβρίαν . . . ἐξωθεῖται γὰρ ἑταῦθα . . . διὸ καὶ πικνύτατος καὶ συννεφέστατος ὁ ἀήρ: ἀθροισμένου δ' ἐφ' ἑκάτερα πολλοῦ (sc. ἀέρος) κτλ; cf. [Arist.] *Pr.* 941<sup>a</sup>2. οὔτος in the post-P tradition may be owed either to conjecture or to happy error.

25 τὸ δὲ καὶ τὸ P: εἶτι δὲ καὶ τὸ Schneider. Neither of these stood in the papyrus, and I do not know what did. τὸ δὲ τὸν ἀνεμον is not to be read, τ[ὸ δ'] ἄνε[μον] hardly.

## INDEXES

Figures in small raised type refer to fragments, small roman numerals to columns. Square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or substantially restored, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or symbol. An asterisk denotes a word not recorded in *LSJ* or *Suppl.*, proper names excepted. The article is not indexed.

### I. NEW LITERARY AND SUBLITERARY TEXTS (3695–3711) and *Life of Aesop* (3720)

- Ἀβδηρα* 3709 → 3  
*ἀβρός* 3707<sup>1</sup> i 6  
*ἀγαθός* 3708<sup>1</sup> ↓ 19?  
*Ἀγασθένης* [3702<sup>1</sup> 3]  
*ἄγειν* 3709 → 6 3710 ii 23, iii 33  
*ἀγῆνωρ* 3710 iii 24, 26  
*Ἀγκαῖος* [3702<sup>2</sup> 3]  
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*Ἀδμητος* 3702 [1<sup>1</sup> 13?], [2<sup>2</sup> 7–8]  
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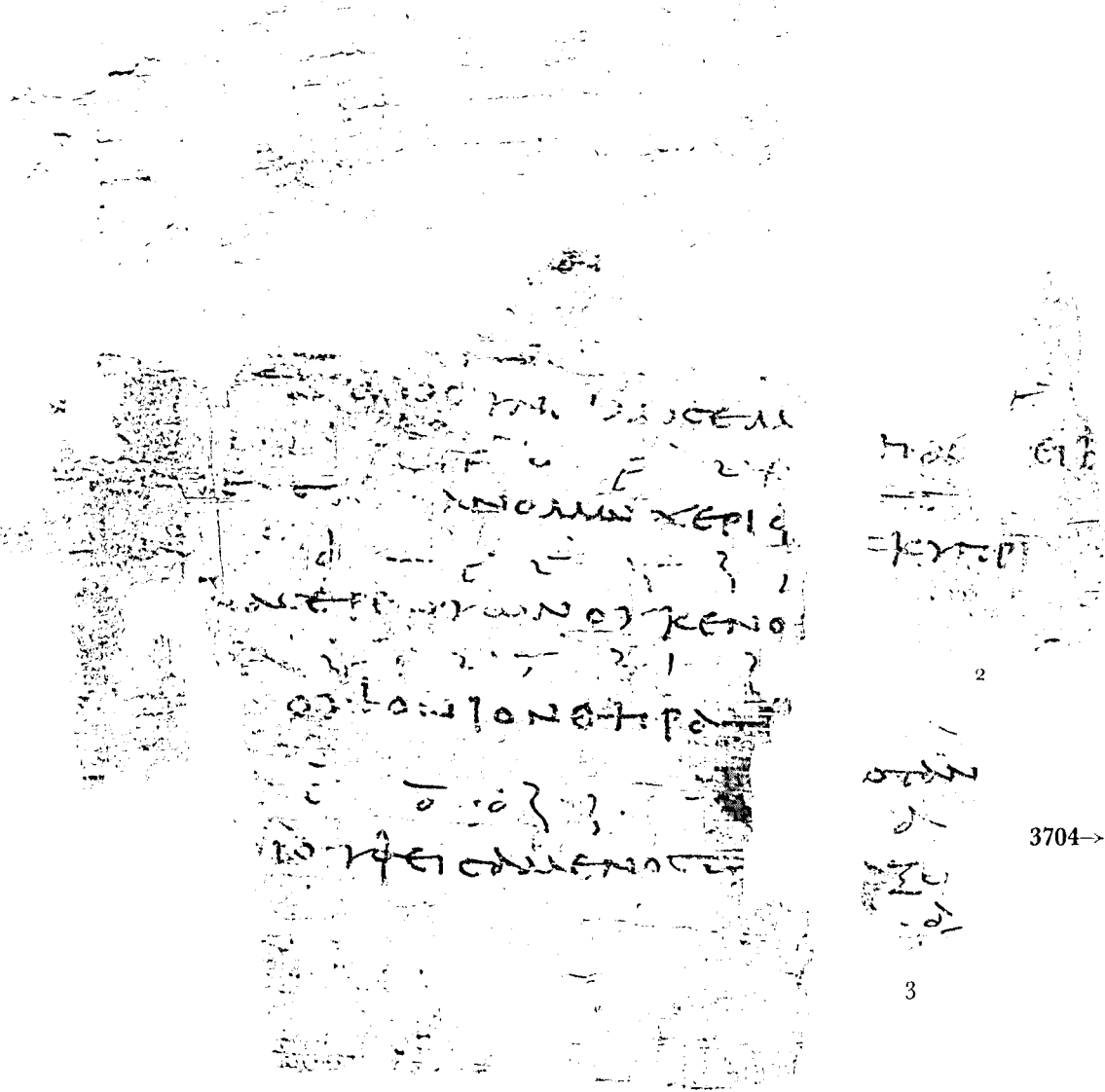
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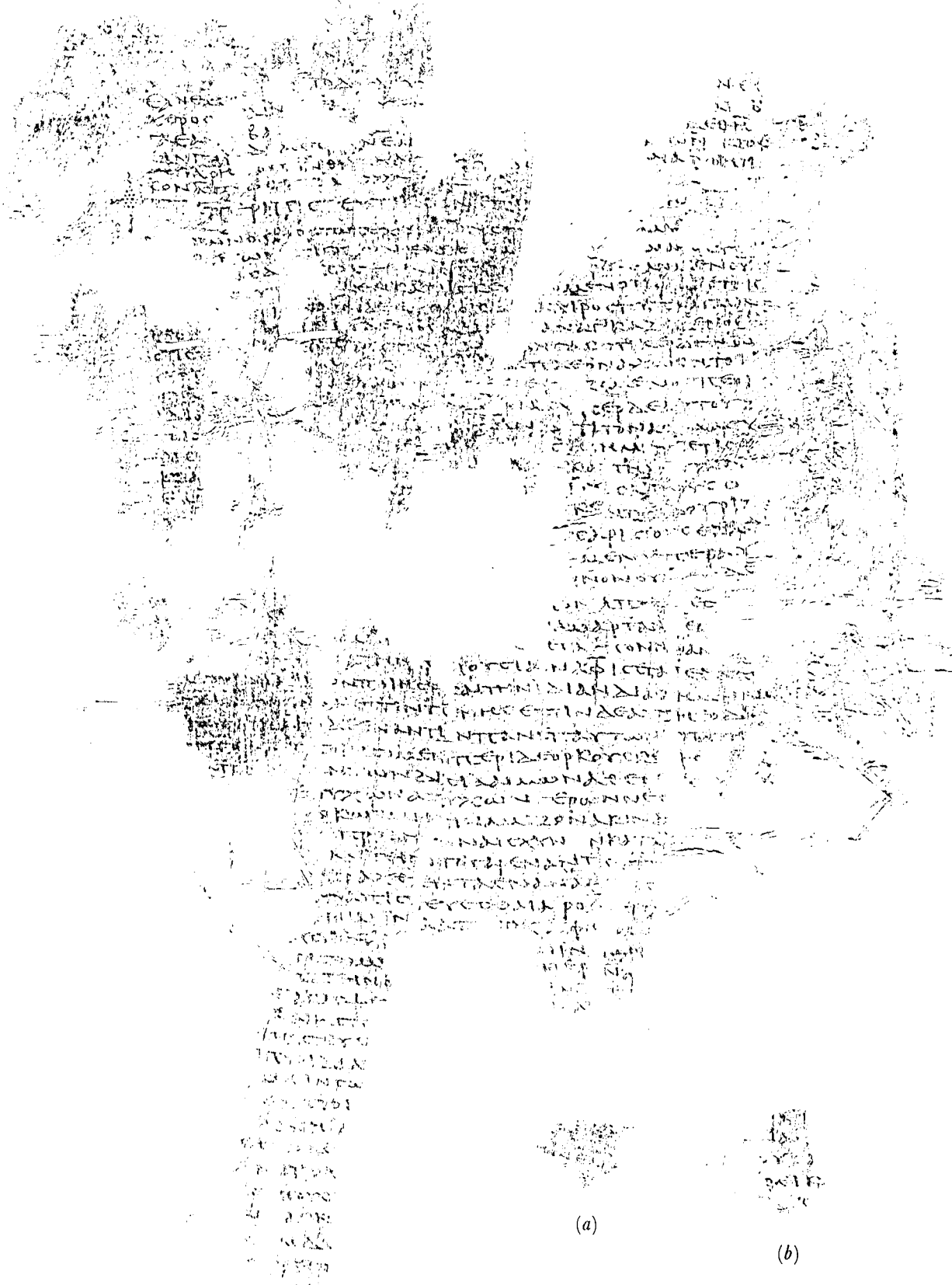
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